



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-125  
Thursday  
28 June 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-125

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28 June 1990

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Ethiopia

### National Shengo Issues Mobilization Resolutions

EA2706124690 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 1700 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, PDRE, National Shengo]

[Text] The Fourth Regular Congress of the National Shengo met under Article 67 of the PDRE Constitution 21-24 June and adopted resolutions after assessing the crucial issues of peace and the country's sovereignty and after examining various related issues and additional efforts to be made. The full participation of well-known religious leaders and national elders who represented the entire Ethiopian people at the Fourth Regular Congress greatly contributed to the success of its deliberations.

Considering the comprehensive report submitted by Comrade President Mengistu Haile-Mariam on efforts to bring about peace and stability in our country and on current problems and the constructive steps taken to solve them, the Shengo in exhaustive deliberations [words indistinct].

The congress confirmed that, according to the report, the steps taken so far have been in conformity with the Shengo's earlier resolutions and directives. Anticipated results in this respect had not yet been achieved, but the efforts made were based on the people's wishes and reaffirmed our determination to bring about peace.

It will be recalled that this National Shengo issued a peace initiative a year ago with a view to holding unconditional peace talks with the opposition in the presence of a third party observer. Contacts were made and the talks resumed. This raised a glimmer of hope for many. Action by the secessionists [Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF] and the Weyane [Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF] groups to obstruct the talks, however, enraged the suffering Ethiopian people.

It is clear that the secessionist shabiyyah group acted to abort the talks when the United Nations, having been invited as agreed during the procedural talks, rejected the invitation due to strictures imposed on it by its charter. The group, instead of bringing in an alternative observer, opted to abort the talks. The latter's outright refusal to resume the peace talks, despite the government's invitation to the United Nations as demanded by the group, reveals that it is not committed to a peaceful solution, but that it has decided arrogantly to achieve its objectives by means of war.

Similarly, the Weyane group, having undertaken to initiate peace talks, instead of agreeing to resume them, came up with a new name: the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front [EPRDF] and said it wanted this organization to participate. This move had no aim but to prolong the people's suffering and in no way helped the people. Unless this group immediately

stops its devastation of the country, which it embarked on after agreeing to do so at the behest of the shabiyyah using the name of Tigray as a pretext, and steps aside from the conspiracy to act on behalf of other nationalities, then it will be clear that the move was nothing but a tactic to be used by the group to dismember Ethiopia.

The Weyane's involvement of the nationalities with no mandate from the people in its actions to devastate Ethiopia is tragic. The Tigrayans and all the other nationalities must now prove that they have abandoned backward tribal politics and that they stand for Ethiopia's sovereignty.

The concerted and coordinated behavior of these two groups at peace talks and in the war is manifested by the nature and similarity of their propaganda and their actions. The obstruction of the peace talks by the two groups should come as no surprise, because their actions have a common objective: to dismember Ethiopia. However, they are working toward this end in different ways.

In contrast, the talks with Jabhah [Eritrean Liberation Front, ELF] factions on peacefully resolving the problems in Eritrea were conducted in a spirit of understanding, and arrangements have been made for subsequent negotiations. The Shengo hailed this as a positive trend.

Having aborted the peace talks which had raised hopes, the two radical groups, the EPLF and the Weyane, have intensified the war and are conducting a destructive propaganda campaign. In general terms, what they are doing is designed to divide the Ethiopian people, intensify the fratricidal war, and dismember the country. How many lives have been lost as a consequence? How much blood has been spilled? How much property and resources have been destroyed?

These groups which are jointly and deliberately engaged in wreaking devastation must realize that mobilizing one Ethiopian against the other, which is what they are doing, can just as easily be done by other Ethiopians. This could lead to an endless fratricidal civil war. Distorting facts and the history of our country cannot help any nationality in Ethiopia. In today's Ethiopia, no single nationality has imposed itself on another. Which single nationality is the dynamo of the national economy or the owner of the nation's resources? Which nationality monopolizes political power?

What the facts confirm is that today there is no discrimination among nationalities in Ethiopia. Those capable of interpreting events know that this is true. Albeit due to lack of resources and capabilities all parts of our country have yet to reach the same stage of development. But even in this respect, all nationalities have equal opportunities in all areas. The necessary attention is also being devoted to this issue.

What is best for the people is not to stir up gratuitous issues conducive to strife and fratricidal war but patiently to look for ways to solve the problems believed to exist in the country. This is the genuine position



adopted by the PDRE National Shengo, which thus promised the people to do this before the world. Our willingness to conduct unconditional peace talks in the presence of a third party attests to the genuineness of our stance. It is clear that the government has responded appropriately and constructively to the issue as to whether our country's problems should be resolved peacefully or otherwise.

By contrast, the secessionist and Weyane groups have opted to intensify war and dismember Ethiopia. This has been unequivocally and openly proved. It is clear from the current situation that the opposition groups, having aborted the peace talks, are coordinating their intensified war to realize their ambitions by force. It is therefore clear that our country, Ethiopia, is on the verge of collapse.

Our search for a peaceful solution to the problem is not one based on assent on the part of the opposition groups but on our firm and durable desire for peace. Accordingly, being unshakably devoted to our peace stance, we have no alternative but to make every effort to safeguard our country from danger. We deputies of the Ethiopian people, in discharge of the responsibilities vested in us and in the exercise of the powers bestowed upon us, having assessed the current situation in our country and what should be done, devoting particular attention in this respect to ways of strengthening our defense force to safeguard our country's sovereignty reliably and of boosting our national economy, adopted the following resolutions during the Fourth Regular Congress of our National Shengo:

#### A. On peace and political issues:

One of the major items on its agenda discussed by the National Shengo during its Fourth Regular Congress concerned peace and politics. The National Shengo engaged in a general review of action taken over the past 16 years with a view to restoring peace, with particular reference to the peace calls, new peace initiatives and directives issued by it since the establishment of our Republic. During the Shengo's deliberations it clearly emerged that the Ethiopian people seek a peace based on their country's unity as the foundation for their equality and development. All the various steps to bring about development and prosperity taken over the past years have been taken on the basis of that principle.

It was correctly pointed out that the Ethiopian Government and people had during the revolutionary years made great efforts to apply peaceful and political solutions to their problems, and the civil war ignited in the northern part of our country 30 years ago. It was clearly pointed out that efforts had been made in cities in various countries soon after our National Shengo issued its new peace initiative with a view to satisfying the demands of the opposition groups. These efforts differed from those which were made more recently. The religious leaders and national elders participating in the Fourth Regular Congress of the National Shengo proposed on the basis of the extensive experience arising

from our history to channel future peace efforts through the traditional reconciliation forum. Having realized the positive contribution this proposal could make, the National Shengo afforded it the necessary regard. Having analyzed Ethiopia's contribution toward the efforts being made all over the world, and basing itself on the aforementioned relevant facts, the Shengo resolved that the following steps be taken:

1. In view of the government's commitment to peace, relevant efforts must be made to bring about a resumption of the peace talks in spite of the fact that these were broken off after the so-called Shabiyah group decided to invite the United Nations as an observer. Efforts must be made to continue the peace talks already begun with the Jabhah factions. Moreover, all conditions conducive to rendering the peace talks successful must be created.

2. Despite the fact that the Weyane group's painful action of aborting the peace talks by going back on its promise to participate, provided the group genuinely commits itself to the unity of Ethiopia, the doors to peace talks with the group should be opened to relieve the suffering of the people, and all relevant efforts should be made to this end.

3. Today, our country's unity is under threat like never before. Every Ethiopian must accordingly make his contribution in the field he is deployed in to safeguard security and unity and do everything possible to promote the peace efforts. All citizens temporarily living under the control of the bandits should firmly uphold their country's unity by rejecting the bandits misleading and confusing propaganda.

4. The Shengo calls on all expatriate Ethiopians to realize the extent to which our country is under threat and do what they can to discharge their responsibility of defending the country with true Ethiopian spirit and help to promote the peace efforts.

5. The preservation of our historic, centuries old, and respected unity is crucial to our integrity and prosperity. Our enemies, bent on destabilizing the country's unity, have done everything in their power to destroy and distort our history. Ceaseless education and agitation in schools and all other fora must be made available to all citizens in general, and the younger generation in particular, to enable them to obtain a correct image of our prestigious history and unity and enhance the zeal of their patriotism.

6. Inasmuch as the decision made by the 11th regular session of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee to the effect that all opposition groups must agree to the unity of the country and participate in its politics in conformity with the people's wishes was relevant and correct, the State Council must act to implement that decision and issue the relevant legislation in this respect.

7. Inasmuch as our country's geographical position has for several historical reasons failed to render it stable and

peaceful, the country failed to forge ahead with development. Inasmuch as the absence of lasting peace and stability tends to spread from one country to another, countries in the region have been exposed to similar problems. In order to avert such regional problems which have exposed people to death, exile, and suffering and to bring about peaceful coexistence and cooperation in the general interest, our country's efforts in this direction must continue.

8. We urge such foreign governments which have knowingly or unknowingly interfered in our country's internal affairs by supporting and helping the bandits to desist from so doing.

9. We extend our gratitude to the various governments, organizations, and individuals which have been assisting our peace efforts and which cooperated with us to alleviate the suffering of compatriots exposed to problems due to drought and war. We call on them to continue helping and supporting us in peacefully solving the problems in the northern part of our country and preserving our country's unity and continue providing humanitarian aid.

#### B. On preserving the national security:

As its centuries old history confirms, Ethiopia's choice and firm and basic objective is peace and freedom. Even today, nothing is more important to Ethiopia than peace and freedom. Inasmuch as they reject a united and strong Ethiopia, however, our enemies have been taking advantage of petty internal conflicts and doing everything possible to expand internal bandit activity by arming and organizing the bandits. Using the superior weaponry and resources at their disposal, providing offices, coordination centers, propaganda, and political support, they have not only destabilized Ethiopia's unity but have plunged it into a great civil war to destroy its sovereignty. Moreover, they have declared a concerted offensive to plunge us into bloodshed and massacre.

Now that the country's unity, social security, and sovereignty, which for centuries the Ethiopian people have paid with their lives to safeguard, have come under threat, no genuine patriotic citizen can afford to take the matter lightly, sit back and watch, or hand over responsibility to just one section of society. It is with pride that we recall every occasion on which society saved the country from collapse when its unity and sovereignty came under threat. Today again we face a challenge against which we must all cooperate by making concerted efforts to thwart the external forces which continue to conspire against our country's sovereignty. The war we face is aimed at dismembering the country. It is by nature both a conventional [preceding word in English] and a guerrilla war. Above all, it is a civil war. It is very complex. The vast responsibility the war has imposed on our army and the extent of its operational areas have brought additional pressures to bear. Accordingly, having great regard for our Revolutionary Army and People's Militia in their great struggle to defend the

country's sovereignty, the National Shengo affirms that the entire Ethiopian masses will rally behind them in the decisive struggle to avert the dangers looming over the motherland. In this respect:

1. Inasmuch as the campaign to destroy and dismember the country unleashed nearby [yeakababi] and internal enemies have brought such grave consequences, nonstop recruitment must urgently be undertaken embracing all citizens for their deployment in the forces and the reserve forces, thus enabling us to wage our concerted struggle.

2. Inasmuch as the enemy's determination to dismember our country cannot be taken lightly and immediate action is required, the Shengo calls upon retired army, police, finance, and prisons personnel, as well as those who have been dismissed for any reason and others with battle experience also to respond and make sacrifices in order to preserve the sovereignty of the motherland.

3. In order to make possible mass participation in the struggle to safeguard the sovereignty of the motherland, reliable and appropriate plans should be drawn up and implemented.

4. All those in the administrative and autonomous areas where the peace has been breached must individually and collectively intensify their activities by engaging in guerrilla warfare, deem themselves soldiers in the frontline of the battlefield, and coordinate their struggle with the Army.

5. In accordance with the directive on the organization of the People's Militia already issued, the necessary force should be recruited in large numbers, trained, organized and mobilized through the area revolutionary campaign centers at all levels, in all political organs in all administrative areas, and by democratically elected youth leaders.

6. The Shengo calls upon party, administrative, and Shengo members; elders; renowned personalities; and religious figures fully to participate in the forefront of the motherland issue to ensure that the struggle, which is decisive for country's sovereignty and unity, achieves its desired results.

7. Although the government will give the People's Militia assigned to mobile and permanent security duties as much support as possible, society, in a bid to fulfill the needs of the campaigners, must replace them in production and services, support their relatives, tend war heroes, and do their duties actively and efficiently.

8. Area campaign centers to be empowered to coordinate joint efforts must be urgently set up in areas where the peace has been breached, thus to coordinate their forces as they deem fit, get the upper hand firmly over the enemy, and achieve satisfactory results.

9. The recruitment and training activities of the campaign centers should extend to areas beyond those where the peace has been breached. They must prepare large, high-quality people's fighting forces in addition to safeguarding the security of their areas. They must be

prepared to assist compatriots defending unity on the war front whenever necessary.

10. Strengthening our defense force and capably carrying out the task of preserving the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity are the orders of the day, but inasmuch as only limited financial resources are available, every genuine Ethiopian is urged by the Shengo to make the necessary financial and material support available towards this end.

11. Experience acquired so far in the division of the Republic's administrative areas, and in particular the new demarcation of districts and the security problems it has brought about in some areas, has been evaluated. Appropriate action must be taken by the State Council and implemented.

12. Rules must be laid down to facilitate prompt action by appropriate bodies against crimes and acts of indiscipline committed by the regular army, the People's Militia, and campaign participants which serve to demoralize the fighting spirit of our fighting forces and generally create favorable conditions for the bandits.

#### C. On the national economy:

Only when the sovereignty of the country has been secured will the people be able to work, bring up children, and in general live a fulfilled life. Inasmuch as the strength of the national economy performs an important role in safeguarding the country, one of the major targets of our enemies is our national economy. There is no alternative to intensifying the struggle to rebuild the economy by foiling the conspiracy of our enemies and securing our sovereignty by making sacrifices in addition to those made for the sake of the war effort. At a time when our country is undergoing a crucial and trying period, it must be realized that the economy is integral to the struggle to safeguard the country's sovereignty and unity. Hence, the issue of the economic development does not apply exclusively to raising living standards, but applies also to the preservation of Ethiopia's sovereignty.

Having realized the unprecedented need to strengthen the reconstruction of the economy in order to safeguard our sovereignty and fend off the danger of dismemberment threatening the country and its longstanding history in an unprecedented manner, the Fourth Regular Congress of the National Shengo, having assessed the 1992-93 budget and plan, the special decrees issued by the 11th regular session of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee, other decrees and their implementation; realized the gravity of the situation facing us; recalled what our people have comprehensively contributed in all sectors to defend the country against domestic and foreign banditry and attacks over the past years to win victories to preserve our freedom and unity; and having carefully assessed the current economic situation in light of the views of the members of the Shengo and other participants, adopted the following resolutions:

1. Taking advantage of the new economic policy mapped out by the 11th regular session of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee in light of our country's objective situation, the experience of our past revolutionary years, and the current international trend toward change, all workers deployed in the field and service sectors and owners of property, must work hard day and night to create a situation favorable to providing the necessary support for the ongoing struggle to preserve the country's sovereignty by fully utilizing their time, energies, creativity, and financial resources. Accordingly:

a. Those engaged in the agricultural sector, which has a decisive role to perform in all its aspects, particularly the farmers, taking advantage of the new economic policy, must increase productivity in order to satisfy the army's food needs, satisfy the demand for industrial raw material, increase agricultural produce for export, and intensify their efforts with great concern to safeguard the sovereignty of the country.

b. Workers and administrators deployed in the industrial sector of the economy must apply their concerted creativity to ensure that imports are replaced by locally manufactured products, manufacturing them as cheaply as possible, and devising ways to increase productivity, with dedicated love for the country.

c. Inasmuch as government and private transportation services have a decisive role in the war effort, these must be fully deployed to this end and an effective working system be laid down to ensure the proper functioning of these services.

d. Inasmuch as the health services have much to contribute toward saving the lives of those wounded while fighting for the unity of the country all professionals deployed in this field must intensify their noble work, improve the administration of hospitals and health centers, and ensure that they carry out their noble task with maximum effectiveness.

2. It is only when the unity of the country is secured that the right to work, development, prosperity, and integrity of every citizen can be guaranteed. Now, as has been done before, a program must be laid down and urgently implemented whereby every citizen must continuously and generously contribute the financial and material support needed. This national call also applies to those working or studying abroad. The ground must be prepared to enable all those who claim to be genuine Ethiopians to discharge their responsibilities by responding to the national call.

3. In light of the efforts being made to safeguard the unity of the country, every government, popular and private organization must do their duty with the utmost diligence.

4. Government offices and corporations which duplicate work must be reorganized to save time and money unnecessarily being wasted instead of being devoted to stepping up the ongoing struggle to safeguard the unity of the motherland.



5. A working system must be worked out to instill in civil servants, farmers, and the entire working people a strong sense of discipline to ensure that the national economic administration will complement the decisive ongoing armed struggle aimed at safeguarding national unity.

6. To supplement the deficits in production which will arise from productive manpower being deployed to safeguard the country's unity, students, housewives, retired people, and in general all citizens who are in the rearguard must participate in production, tending, and collecting produce.

7. A system must be devised and implemented to control those who hoard and create artificial shortages by exploiting the ongoing fight to safeguard the sovereignty and unity of the motherland.

8. Appropriate steps must be taken to avert complacency, corruption, discrimination, and work delays and to encourage the efficiency of production, trade, barter, and services as demanded by the armed struggle.

9. Until the Eritrean and Tigrayan people who have been displaced and face untold suffering due to the war perpetrated by Shabiyya and Weyane are fully liberated, the rest of the Ethiopian people should regard the suffering of these people as their own, be at one with their compatriots, and share their problems and suffering.

10. Inasmuch as one of the major tactics the Shabiyyah and Weyane are employing in executing their conspiracy to dismember the country is to destroy economic and social installations, every citizen must be vigilant against this wherever they live and work, thus thwarting covert attacks by the enemy and infiltrators.

11. At a time when our country is engaged in a decisive struggle, all genuine citizens of this country must consider the compatriots fighting the enemy and dying daily. We must economize more than ever before and reflect the discipline, spirit, and feelings of a society fighting for its survival.

12. Implementation of the special decrees on the new economic policy and other rules issued by the 11th regular session of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee must continue and be submitted to the next regular congress of the National Shengo as decrees.

13. Inasmuch as the current war situation has made it difficult to implement the usual government programs, the 1990-91 plan and budget must be seen by the State Council in light of the war situation and implemented accordingly.

14. To safeguard our motherland's sovereignty and honor and enhance social development, bureaucratic bottlenecks must be avoided at all levels of government and popular organizations starting from the national level, all of which must be actively helped to enable them to discharge all their responsibilities efficiently. Moreover, efforts must be stepped up at all levels in all administrative and autonomous regions to bring about

self-sufficiency and produce surpluses, thus to demonstrate true love for the country and compatriots.

The State Council has been charged with the responsibility of promptly and practically implementing these decisions on peace, politics, national security, and national economy adopted by the Fourth Regular Congress of the National Shengo by issuing appropriate directives and rules and ensuring their enforcement.

The National Shengo stresses that every citizen and the entire population must participate in action to save the country from the dangers threatening it. Every citizen must act to liberate our compatriots who are suffering at gunpoint in the areas controlled by the bandits. To do so the citizens must immediately and unhesitatingly mobilize. The Shengo strongly urges all citizens to ignore rumors spread by the enemy, work to solve petty differences by engaging in consultations about the country, and do their heroic duty to overcome the great dangers threatening the motherland. The Ethiopian people aspire to be blessed to lead a peaceful and prosperous life. A stable peace can hardly exist in a situation where some are blessed with happiness while others are exposed to misery and sorrow. We are therefore convinced that all the forces standing for humanity, democracy, and progress will support our efforts to achieve peace in our country and region in the interests of international peace and security. Ethiopia first!

[Dated] 24 June 1990

#### **Minister Receives Ambassadorial Appointment**

*EA2706121890 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 1700 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Comrade President Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and commander in chief of the revolutionary Armed Forces, today appointed Comrade Girma Yilma [minister of culture and sports and member of the WPE Central Committee] as ambassador abroad.

#### **Kenya**

#### **\* Debate Rages Over One-Party, Multiparty State**

##### **\* Ex-ministers Call for Referendum**

*34000649A Nairobi DAILY NATION in English  
4 May 90 pp 1-2*

[Article by Catherine Gicheru; words in italics as published]

[Text] Two former Cabinet Minister and expellees of the ruling party yesterday called for the repeal of the 1982 constitutional amendment, the immediate dissolution of Parliament and a public referendum to decide the country's political future.

In a well-attended press conference held at the New Stanley Hotel, Mr. Charles Rubia and Mr. Kenneth

Matiba also asked President Moi to call a fresh election, after dissolving Parliament, to enable Kenyans to vote freely either as members of the Kenya African National Union or "other parties they may wish to form if they so desire." (The 1982 amendment made Kenya a *de jure* one-party state).

At the same time, they asked the Head of State to ensure that no rigging of such elections would take place "as has been the case in the past."

In a 7-page statement read to the press by Mr. Matiba, a former Minister for Transport and Communications, the two politicians said the single-party system was the single, major contributory factor and root cause of the political, economic and social ills facing Kenya.

"And like elsewhere in Africa and the world generally, the single-party system, must go now and not tomorrow. Twenty-seven years of experiment are enough," they said.

They charged that only those with "vested interests" could turn a blind eye to the obvious need for change and accused a majority of the politicians of "hypocrisy and adopting double standards" by publicly advocating single-party systems while they were in favour of the multi-party system in private.

"The truth of the matter is that their hands are "tied" by the single-party system. They are no longer free to differ from the party line because they fear that to do so would result in their being disciplined by the party."

They were astonished, they said, by the arguments being advanced by advocates of the single-party system that a multi-party system would encourage tribalism. They said Kenyans were aware of what they wanted and would be the last ones to condone or foster tribalism.

"The majority of our population are fully aware of what they want. The problems facing the nation know no tribalism. Tribalism should not be used as an excuse to sustain a system that deprives people of their rights and freedoms," they declared.

Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia said Kenyans had learnt their lessons in the 1960s and would not allow the establishment of political activities based on tribal lines.

"Ultimately," they said, "one would hope that the majority of Kenyans will be given a final say in this matter. Why not organise a referendum on this single issue?"

On the 1982 constitutional amendment, the two politicians said Kenyans had been denied the right to assemble and associate peacefully in politics contrary to Article 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which Kenya ratified soon after independence in 1963, and Article 23 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which came into force in Kenya in 1976.

They claimed that not every Kenyan had the right to take part in the election of the Government of his country directly or through freely elected representatives.

"If you are not a member of Kanu you cannot offer yourself for election to Parliament as the law does not allow that. Neither can you participate in the preliminary selection of candidates," they said.

The 1982 amendment, the pair contended, introduced a political philosophy which had deprived many Kenyans of their fundamental right to participate in the Government of the country.

In both political and economic fields, the amendment had denied Kenyans of their basic rights and led to economic insufficiency. "The one-party system has led to the Government involvement in almost every aspect of life thereby virtually abolishing freedom."

They said that after Kenya became a *de jure* one-party state the right to political participation was "watered down" by expulsions from the ruling party, the 70 percent nomination rule, the queuing system, the party's refusal to clear intending Parliamentary candidates and the supervision of the electoral system by a "non-independent" civil service following the 1988 constitutional amendment which took away the security of tenure of members of the Public Service Commission.

Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia said the will of the people was to the basis of authority of the Government in that the elections were not held by "universal and equal suffrage."

They said the elections held under the queuing method with the 70 percent nomination condition were "not genuine" since they were not held by secret ballot or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Intimidation, they said, necessarily accompanied queuing and exerted psychological pressure on voters where overt coercion did not occur. "Every Kenyan is now familiar with the intimidation and manipulation that go with queuing."

Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia conceded that despite pointers that a single party was dangerous, there was a time when the party was "reasonably tolerant and criticism within it accepted."

"But over the period Kanu has drastically changed and that freedom has been lost."

Declaring that their intention was not to apportion blame for past mistakes, the two men said there was a need for Kenyans to scrutinise themselves and their experience since 1963 and thereby correct some of these mistakes.

The 1960s constitutional changes, which concentrated powers in the central government leaving none with the local authorities and thereby making it easy to amend the constitution, were wrong, they said. Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia also contended that attempts after 1969 to form other political parties were administratively frustrated



by the Government. "These factors have contributed to the situation obtaining today."

However, they conceded that the early electoral system had been "generally fair" and the *de facto* one-party system had been "tolerant" and allowed virtually anyone interested in participating in the elections to do so.

They described as "minor deviations" the Kanu constitution which still envisages a situation where a multi-party system can exist; the Government statement on multi-party systems which announced that the Government would not legislate for a one-party system as to do so would contravene Section 80 of the Kenya Constitution which guarantees everyone freedom of association (and which has yet to be amended), and Sessional Paper No. 10 on African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya which argued against a political philosophy which deprives a section of the populace political rights.

Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia also took issue with the 1988 Constitutional Amendment which took away the independence of judges of the High Court and the Court of Appeal. "There is effectively no independent tribunal which can accord anybody a fair trial," they said.

The 1986 amendment taking away the independence of the Attorney-General had ensured that there was no one to give "disinterested advice" to the Government on any issues of a political or non-political nature. "It is during the same period that the High Court has decided that there is no Kenyan court which can enforce the fundamental rights of the individual which have been declared in Chapter 5 of the Kenya Constitution," the pair charged.

Speaking as "patriotic Kenyans who desire true and permanent peace and stability" for Kenya, Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia said it was time for the political policies which had been followed for the past 20 years to be discarded.

"No further experimentation with these policies is required," they said.

They said the founding fathers, who believed in a multi-party political system, envisioned a Government which was divided between the central Government, a strong local authority, an independent judiciary, a free Press and a belief that the Government, including the President, could be changed through popular elections and in accordance with the Constitution.

"The goal cannot be achieved in present-day Kenya. Our objective is to restore Kenyans' vision of a happy society which has disappeared from our political life and other institutions."

Saying that the abolition of the checks and balances that should exist to curb the excesses of the central government was "virtually complete," Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia declared there was no justification for vesting so much power in the central government as had been the case in the past.

What was needed was a constitution and an economic policy which would strengthen the market economy, make the Government more democratic and redistribute wealth equitably.

Mr. Matiba and Mr. Rubia and the representation of the majority of people had been compromised by the single-party system and that unless rigging of elections was eliminated, no single system would prove adequate. "We know of many cases, for example, where those now holding party and parliamentary offices do not represent the people as they were rigged into those offices."

The two politicians said they had no intention of forming political parties.

They concurred with the CPK [Church of the Province of Kenya]'s Dr. Henry Okullu's suggestion that the President's tenure of office be limited to two terms. "After all, leading a country is hard work and we are all human!"

They both said they had not voted for the 1982 Constitutional Amendment.

#### \* MP's Back One-Party

34000649B Nairobi KENYA TIMES in English  
4 May 90 pp 1, 5

[Article by George Munji and Mwigigi Njoroge]

[Excerpt] Parliament yesterday condemned those agitating for the multi-party system for Kenya, saying the individuals wanted to plunge one of the fastest growing nations in Africa into tribal conflicts.

Each Member of Parliament who spoke on the Motion of Adjournment condemned the advocates of the multi-party system.

They were led by the Vice-President and Minister for Finance, Professor George Saitoti who said there would never be democracy in a country divided along tribal lines. Prof Saitoti, who is the Leader of Government Business, told the House that Kenyans were enjoying their freedom under one party democracy. He said the system had united Kenyans to speak as one.

The Minister for Health, Mr. Mwai Kibaki, said those who liked to talk would always talk, even for the next 30 years. He asked MP [Member of Parliament]s to ensure that the ruling Kenya African National Union (Kanu) remained strong by enrolling as many members as possible.

He received applause in the House when he said that a person does not change a shirt just because it has a bit of dirt on it or just because others are doing it. "You improve on it," he said. The Minister said that if the party was made even stronger and unbeatable, the advocates of multi-party system would have nowhere to preach their cause.

"Let's make our party very strong because we are satisfied with it," he said.

The Minister for Research Science and Technology, Mr. George Muhoho, reminded the advocates of the multi-party system that Kanu was founded in Kiambu, whose people did not want any other party in the country.

"They should know that Kanu was founded in Kiambu on 11 June 1960. If they want another party they should exclude the people of Kiambu. We are not part of that," he told the House.

The MP for Cherangani, Mr. Kiprono Kirwa, said leaders should act responsibly in the positions they held in the country so that they do not create room for those preaching multi-party politics.

He called on leaders to avoid petty controversies and to stop insulting and abusing each other. Instead they should look after the welfare of the people, he said.

He asked the ministers to be more committed and to assist the people instead of leaving the whole burden to the President. Ministers, he said, should be bold enough to make decisions that are for the benefit of the people.

Moving the Motion of Adjournment, Prof Saitoti observed that the one-month recess would give Members of Parliament a chance to visit their constituencies and interact with the people.

He said MPs should interact with farmers and exchange views which would boost food production. "Talk to the people to plant trees so that the desert does not encroach in their land," he said.

Prof Saitoti noted that Parliament had been able to deliberate on very many important motions. "This is a shining example of an open Parliament under a one-party democracy," he pointed out amid foot-thumping.

He said the members had transacted business in a very serious manner. "This August House has demonstrated maturity. This has been the wish of the electorate," he said.

The Vice-President criticised the few "outsiders" who had recently been making "uncalled for" noises, making irrelevant suggestions that Parliament be dissolved.

"These few disgruntled elements are not representatives of the electorate. The Members of Parliament are the ones who are elected and electors have total confidence in them," said Prof Saitoti.

He said he could only sympathise with the few people who seemed not to see what the Government under the able leadership of President Moi was doing.

President Moi should be fully supported in leading this nation, he said, adding that the stability in the country "has made Kenya look like an island of peace."

Kenya, he said, was united at present and devoid of tribal political groupings.

Prof Saitoti urged members to jealously safeguard the prevailing stability in the country and strengthen unity by supporting President Moi in all areas of economic development.

"Members should consolidate national unity during the recess and lead the people along the Nyayo path," he said. He said the few disgruntled elements should be rejected. "We don't want bloodshed. We want national unity. We want peace and think of our future generation," he said.

He urged members to use the opportunity to hold many public meetings "where you can talk of peace and unity and how much we love our own country."

Seconding the motion, the Minister for Energy, Mr. Nicholas Biwott, who is the deputy leader of Government Business, paid glowing tribute to President Moi for the manner in which he has led Kenya.

He thanked President Moi for raising the salaries of civil servants. "He did a tremendous job," he said. Mr. Biwott said that members should preach about the stability, unity and progress this country has achieved under the one-party system. The MPs should alert their people about the difference between "our enemies and the friends of our economic development," Mr. Biwott said.

He said one of those calling for a multi-party political system is a church leader "who cannot even solve a small problem affecting the Katakwa diocese. Such people want to plunge this country into chaos by inviting tribalism into the system. Our problems today are created by puppets," he said.

He said puppets were failures. "They have done nothing. They are incapable of leading anybody."

Mr. Biwott said Kenyans should support themselves and not look to outsiders. "I appeal to Kenyans to help each other in all spheres of national development...in social life and education, and to guard our party system"

An Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Shariff Nassir, vowed to fight to his death anybody including Cabinet Ministers, Assistant Ministers and MPs who dared point a finger at President Moi.

Mr. Nassir said some people had misinterpreted the President's humility and had now started attacking him (President).

Looking angry, Mr. Nassir, who is also the Mvita MP charged: "I can take on Mr. Martin Shikuku. But let anybody, including these Ministers and Assistant Ministers and MPs, dare point a finger at our President and I'll be ready to fight to my death."

He said President Moi was always at the forefront in defending the name and the leadership of the late President Kenyatta. But he lamented that some present day leaders stood and watched as the President's name was besmirched by disgruntled elements.

He thanked those leaders who respected the late President's name and Government, but rebuked those who stood and watched as the Government was attacked. [passage omitted]

**\* Okullu, Others Favor Democracy**

34000649C Nairobi THE WEEKLY REVIEW  
in English 4 May 90 pp 6- 5

[Words in italics as published]

[Text] "Where there are three gathered, they are discussing these points. Call it rumour-mongering or gossip but an intense discussion is taking place" so said the bishop of the Maseno South diocese of the Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK) Dr. Henry Okullu in a press statement last week. According to Okullu, Kenyans are vigorously discussing the country's political future. But the discussions are not free and open, he says, because the ruling party Kanu prevents free debate. The solution? That the constitution be changed to remove the clause that makes Kenya a *de jure* one-party state. In addition, Okullu suggested that a two-term limit be imposed on the tenure of office of any future president on the grounds that "power corrupts even a person with the best will in the world" and that power must therefore be limited by fairly acceptable checks and balances.

Okullu was, of course, not the first person to talk about the one-party state as he was only adding his voice to a subject that has been constantly in the news for the past two months. Neither did he say anything very new; his argument went along the same lines as other critics of the one-party state who have spoken out on the matter. But his statement made waves and he was set to become the subject of a major attack from politicians before the minister for energy, Mr. Nicholas Biwott, told parliament that Okullu's remarks were not worthy of a rejoinder. Apart from an assistant minister for information and broadcasting, Mr. Shariff Nassir, who clearly could not restrain himself from challenging the bishop, the rest of the country's politicians, while veering away from directly attacking Okullu, nevertheless continued to expound on the virtues of the one-party state and the ills of a multi-party system. At the same time, the statement triggered off a series of press statements from clergymen and lawyers arguing in favour of a multi-party system.

Okullu had let loose a major political volley. But the impact of his broadside had a great deal to do with its timing. Up to that point, the country had been treated to a one-sided public debate on the merits of a one-party arrangement and the disadvantages of a multi-party system. The so-called multi-party debate began towards the end of February when Kenya's political leadership suddenly took a strong public stance in defence of the country's one-party system, a move that puzzled observers in view of the fact that, at the time, no prominent personality, or body of opinion had publicly broached the idea of introducing a multi-party system. In fact, the defence of a one-party system has since early this year been a pet topic for politicians and it was a

one-sided affair until Okullu issued his statement, which was supported by lawyers and clergymen.

At the end of the day, however, what transpired was not much of a debate. Official reactions to Okullu's statements were all too predictable. As politicians repeated the same old arguments in favour of a one-party system, its critics also said what they have said all along. One politician who could not see how Okullu was allowed to get away with his remarks was Nassir, who was particularly upset by Okullu's suggestion that the tenure of office of future presidents be limited. Nassir understood Okullu to be casting aspersions on President Daniel arap Moi's leadership when he told parliament that "President Moi does not fear elections." This prompted Okullu to clarify his suggestion to the effect that he had not referred to President Moi but to future presidents. An angry Nassir nevertheless still called a press conference in Mombasa in which he warned the advocates of a multi-party system that they were pushing President Moi too far.

In a rare encounter on Saturday last week, Nassir told off the American ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Smith Hempstone, over the fact that the United States has been calling for the creation of multi-party states in Africa. Hempstone had paid a courtesy call on Nassir in his Mombasa office when Nassir told him that "you can afford to have two parties in America after 500 years (sic) of independence and there are no ethnic groups, everybody there is an American." Hempstone responded by telling Nassir that it did not necessarily follow that a multi-party arrangement would breed tribalism or that a one-party state would breed marxism. For much of last week, the country's politicians stepped up their support for the one-party system both in parliament and when addressing public rallies in their constituencies over the weekend. And in terms of sheer numbers, the politicians who defended the existing system by far outnumbered the clerics and lawyers who called for change.

Support for Okullu's call to the effect that the constitution be changed came from the same controversial clerics and lawyers who have in the past been in the forefront of taking on the government over contentious political issues. These included the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) cleric, the Rev. Dr. Timothy Njoya, the bishop of the Mount Kenya diocese of the CPK Dr. David Gitari, the provost of the St. Paul's Cathedral in Embu Canon Gideon Ireri, while the lawyers included ex-detainee Mr. Gibson Kamau Kuria, his partner Mr. Kiraitu Murungi, the editor of the NAIROBI LAW MONTHLY magazine Mr. Gitobu Imanyara and Mr. Rumba Kinuthia. The exception, however, was a joint statement issued by the CPK Bishop of the diocese of Eldoret, the Rt. Rev. Alexander Muge and the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church in Kenya Bishop Lawi Imathiu, supporting the one-party state. Muge, in particular, has in the past been a vicious critic of government and party policies alongside other outspoken prelates and lawyers. This time, however, Muge and Imathiu supported the one-party system, citing the same reasons



as politicians that a multi-party system runs the danger of degenerating into tribal groupings. The two bishops added, however, that strong checks and balances should be introduced to ensure democracy within the system. Still, the arguments for and against a multi-party system remained unchanged in the wake of Okullu's bombshell.

The main thrust of the argument concerned the contention by critics of a multi-party system to the effect that in a multi-tribal society such as Kenya's, such a system would only create ethnic animosity. This, politicians say, was proved when Kenya tried out a multi-party system soon after Independence. The effect of such a system is that it would lead to the domination of small tribes by larger tribes, a view that was recently stressed by the minister for local government Mr. William ole Ntimama who said that small tribes, like his own Maasai, "would be doomed." A tribal-oriented political system, it is argued, would create widespread disunity as opposed to a strong and homogeneous nation in which political and economic stability exists. Advocates of a one-party state also argue that the system is more natural to Kenya as it is closest to past indigenous governments as opposed to a multi-party system which is described as a foreign concept. In any case, politicians say, Kenya is a showcase of success under the one-party system in which the country has thrived in a free and democratic environment.

Advocates of a multi-party system argue that the arrangement is most consistent with democracy, citing the recent wind of change in eastern Europe as proof that multi-parties are the spirit of the times. A multi-party system, they say, would allow freedom of expression which, they insist, Kanu has denied Kenyans by victimising those who hold views different from its own. A multi-party system would, in any case, make it possible for those expelled from Kanu to join other parties. And on the question of tribalism, multi-party proponents say that tribalism already exists, even under the one-party Kanu government, and that tribalism is not bred by the kind of political system that a country adopts. According to multi-party proponents, Kanu has forced the populace into an unpopular election system that denies Kenyans an opportunity to choose leaders of their choice, thus disenfranchising a large section of the population. In the process, a situation has arisen whereby members of parliament owe their allegiance almost exclusively to the party rather than to the electorate. Some lawyers have said that since Kanu claims to be a popular mass movement, it should allow for the creation of other parties so as to prove its popularity.

What the flurry of statements on single and multi-party arrangements did, however, was to underline the fact that the question of whether Kenya should consider changing its political system is very much in the air. The questions being asked by public figures such as Okullu, however, is whether the atmosphere exists for a free public debate in which divergent views will not only be tolerated but also taken into account. The stance taken by politicians is that not only does free debate abound in Kenya, but that Kenyans have already made their stand

on the matter very clear through their parliamentary representatives who have all been unanimous in their support of a one-party system.

Ironically, Okullu was, in his statement, responding to an announcement by the party to the effect that it would host a national conference later in the year in which Kenyans from all walks of life would meet to discuss all matters affecting the country. The announcement was made mid-last month by the party's secretary-general, Mr. Joseph Kamotho, who said that the conference on the theme "The Kenya We Want" would be attended by leaders from various organisations, including controversial clergymen and even members of the Law Society of Kenya. Kamotho said that the conference was the best way of arriving at a national consensus. While welcoming Kamotho's invitation, however, Okullu expressed little faith in the possibility that Kanu would allow an open debate, all declarations of intent to that effect notwithstanding, saying there exist major obstacles to an unfettered debate. The bishop said that public debates were foreign to Kenya and that many Kenyans feared expressing views divergent from Kanu's because they would be victimised, citing the case of the immediate former minister for information and broadcasting and most recent Kanu expellee, Mr. Waruru Kanja, as an example. "There is an assumption," said Okullu, "that the national destiny is and must remain in the hands of the party leaders, whether the future looks catastrophic or not and the party leaders themselves have stated and acted thus." In any case, Okullu said, the leadership of the party had already taken a no-nonsense stand on the issue, making Kenyans feel that they had already lost the battle.

A no-nonsense stand is precisely what Okullu's proposals received when the matter was raised in parliament the same day that his remarks appeared in the press. In response to criticism levelled at Okullu by Nassir and nominated MP [Member of Parliament] Mr. Eliud Mahihu, Biwott told the House that Okullu's views should be ignored because Kenyans had already decided that they were happy with a one-party system. "Okullu is alone," said the minister, "he is speaking for no one. All Kenyans are for the one-party." Urging MPs to preach the virtues of the one-party system to their constituents, Biwott told them to "ignore Okullu like he never said anything, the people he is appealing to are of no consequence." While Biwott's response seemed to differ with Kamotho's promise to the effect that the party intends to consider different views in an open debate, it nevertheless brought to the fore the fact that both sides of the debate claim to be speaking on behalf of the public. While Okullu, for instance, spoke of "What Kenyans are looking for" and what "Kenyans feel" Biwott was equally categorical in saying that "all Kenyans are for the one-party." Other critics of government policy and the one-party state have invariably claimed that they speak on behalf of a silent majority.

It remains difficult, therefore, to determine which of the warring sides is indeed expressing public opinion. As far as

the politicians are concerned, the debate is an open-and-shut case on the grounds that the constitutional legal channels for assessing public opinion are elections that enable elected parliamentarians and party officials to represent the views of the public. According to the one-party critics, however, such an argument does not hold water on the basis that the electoral system is itself fundamentally flawed. They insist that elections are widely rigged and do not, therefore, represent public wishes. Okullu said in his statement that what Kenyans were looking for was that people be allowed to freely elect accountable leaders. Two Nairobi lawyers, Imanyara and Kinuthia, said in a joint statement that free expression cannot be expected even from parliament because "MPs would be sounding the death knell for their political careers if they support the multi-party system."

Government and Kanu critics have in the past challenged the government to hold a referendum to determine public opinion regarding controversial issues. But a referendum is not provided for in Kenya's constitution. This, in fact, is the reply Kamotho gave when journalists asked him whether Kanu would consider holding a referendum to gauge Kenyan's views on the multi-party system. Even then one thing that has not come out very clearly is the extent to which Kenyans generally are interested in the debate about multi-party systems. As politicians make their pints on public platforms and lawyers and clergymen respond through church sermons and press statements, all insisting that they speak on behalf of the masses, questions arise as to whether the people are at all familiar with the technical implications of the differences between a one-party and a multi-party state. Unlike, say, the queue-voting system, a straightforward concept that ordinary people had no problem in assessing its merits and demerits, the functioning of a multi-party system is a more complex and technical concept that, even if a referendum were held, a large section of the population would be uncertain of what exactly it was voting for.

But the current debate goes beyond the simple question of whether Kenya should introduce a multi-party system. Other contentious political issues have also been raised and the tag of being either pro- or anti- the single-party is, in some cases, used mainly to identify which side a person had taken in what is otherwise a wider debate. Okullu, for instance, was clearly more interested in the freedom of expression, as well as free and fair elections, than in calling for a multi-party system. When calling for a change in the constitution to remove the one-party clause, the bishop's argument was that this should be done for the purpose of allowing free discussion as opposed to what he sees as a situation in which Kanu attempts to monopolise opinion on both political and economic issues. According to Okullu, the debate should rise above purely academic arguments as to whether to have one or more political parties. Okullu argues that "neither a multi-party nor a single-party system would automatically guarantee what Kenyans are looking for." And what Kenyans are looking for, according to Okullu,

is freedom of expression and the freedom to elect leaders of their own choice. And not all opponents of the single-party system are agreed regarding alternatives. While Okullu feels that Kenya can even do without political parties, Imanyara and Kinuthia suggest that the country should have a two-party system, arguing that this would eliminate the possibility of tribal parties as there are more than two tribes in Kenya.

By the beginning of this week, the debate seemed to have subsided, which was not surprising given the fact that both sides of the argument had already re-stated their positions. Once again, it looked like no more than an academic exchange between politicians and their handful of vocal critics. Judging from the utterances of politicians, the debate is even more academic in their view as they have already stated that Kenyans are happy with the current set-up and have already decided that the people want no change. The question of open debate on these issues now lies with the forthcoming "Kenya We Want" conference in which the party has pledged to allow a free discussion. Given the position already taken by politicians, however, it remains to be seen just how far the party will listen to criticism at the conference and adhere, or otherwise, to its stated ideal to the effect that it is seeking a genuinely national consensus from Kenyans about the kind of country that they wish to live in.

#### \* Nassir Backs One-Party

34000649D Nairobi DAILY NATION in English  
29 Apr 90 pp 1- 2

[Article by Francis Raymond]

[Text] The Mombasa Kanu branch chairman, Shariff Nassir on Friday told the Americans and other super powers to leave Kenyans alone to shape their destiny the way they wanted.

Mr. Nassir, who is also an Assistant Minister for Information and Broadcasting, was addressing the United States Ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Smith Hempstone, who had called on him at his Majengo Kanu office in Mombasa.

"You can afford to have two parties in America after 500 years of independence, and there are no ethnic groups, everybody there is an American," Mr. Nassir told Mr. Hempstone.

Added Mr. Nassir: "We are too young a nation with different tribes. To introduce a multi-party system at this stage will mean inviting bloodshed."

"Leave us alone to shape the future of our country the way we want," the Mombasa Kanu branch chairman said.

But the American ambassador, who was accompanied by his Mombasa-based consul, Mr. Stephen Eisinbraun, said that it was not necessary that a multi-party state would breed tribalism or that a one-party state would breed Marxism.



However, Mr. Nassir still stressed that Kenya is too young compared to the U.S. and other developed multi-states: "Give us time, we are growing. We need employment opportunities, hospitals, education and shelter for our people and all these can only be best achieved when there is peace."

On Thursday, Mr. Nassir warned political-minded clergymen and lawyers that they are playing with fire and will have themselves to blame if they get their fingers burnt.

"They are leaving their noble professions and joining politics, a different and rough profession. They are playing with fire and they should not blame anybody if they burn their fingers," he said reacting to comments by the provost of St Paul's Cathedral, Embu, Canon Gideon Ileri, and three Nairobi advocates—Mr. Kiraitu Murungi, Mr. Rumba Kinuthia and Mr. Gitobu Imanyara.

The Anglican cleric and the lawyers expressed solidarity with the Bishop of Maseno South Diocese of the Church of the Province of Kenya (CPK), Bishop Dr. Henry Okullu's, call to amend the constitution to allow for a multi-party system.

On Friday, addressing the U.S. envoy, the Kanu branch chairman said that the multi-party system would create chaos in Kenya: "When immediately after independence we had several parties and there was bloodshed, I witnessed it here in Mombasa."

The Assistant Minister told the ambassador that Kenyans have the freedom to say and do whatever they please: "You can see what is going on in the Press—we let them speak what they want."

Mr. Nassir noted that democracy is not only brought about by a multi-party system and cited the example of Israel where more than two parties have failed to form a government.

Unlike in other countries where people talk with guns, he said, here in Kenya people are peaceful and do not gun each other down whenever they disagree.

Mr. Nassir said that the present leadership is mature and is not afraid of a multi-party system, "but is against bloodshed in the country. We are at the moment politically educating our people before we jump into a new system."

In a multi-party system, he said, people tend to use tribes as a ladder to leadership and stressed that Kenya needs peace to continue on the path of development: "This cannot be achieved when we introduce a multi-party system because people will be divided into tribal groupings."

On developments, the Assistant Minister told the U.S. ambassador that as a young nation, Kenya needs assistance from the U.S. and other developed countries to boost its economy: "We need to teach our people to make cars, tractors and others."

Saying unity is strength, Mr. Nassir said that Kanu as a mass movement is fighting against tribalism in order to

bring all people in the country together: "when we reach that stage, we can afford to be as you people, but not otherwise, we are young, give us time."

After the courtesy call, Mr. Nassir took the envoy around the Kanu building where he showed him (Mr. Hempstone) the offices to be used by Kanu-Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation, Jua Kali artisans and tailoring and co-operative members.

Meanwhile, the debate on whether Kenya should adopt a single or multi-party political system continued yesterday with a number of politicians and church leaders supporting opposing views adds David Rogoncho and Correspondent.

The Vice-President Professor George Saitoti, said in Kericho yesterday that advocates of a multi-party system were trying to create disunity among Kenyans on tribal lines.

Prof. Saitoti who is also the Minister for Finance said that experience had clearly shown that multi-parties thrived on tribal alignments.

He said multi-parties and tribalism in Africa were sources of socio-economic and political conflicts currently crippling the continent.

He was presiding over a harambee funds drive where Sh1,955,601 was raised for Tengecha High School at Kapkatet Stadium in Buret Division in Kericho District.

He donated Sh249,000 which included Sh20,000 from President Moi and Sh10,000 each from Ministers Nicholas Biowott, Prof. Sam Onger, William ole Ntimama, the State House Controller, Mr. Abraham Kipitanui, the PS, Office of the President, Mr. Joseph Leting, the PS Office of the Vice-President, Mr. Charles Mbindyo and the chairman of the Kenya Times Media Trust, Mr. Jared Kangwana.

In a rejoinder, the Minister for Local Government and Physical Planning, Mr. William Ntimama said that multi-party system would lead to the domination of smaller tribes by larger ones.

Addressing a press conference in his International Life House in Nairobi, Mr. Ntimama said: "Kenya has still a big degree of tribalism and sectionalism. We will probably need another 50 to 60 years to build up a homogenous society, which could then be ready for multi-parties."

Mr. Ntimama disagreed with the views expressed by the outspoken Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu that public debates were foreign in Kenya and that many citizens were forced by fear and uncertainty to withdraw into their "professional ghettos."

Declared Mr. Ntimama: "Most Kenyans would retreat into their tribal ghettos, if multi-parties are introduced in Kenya."

He said that Kenyans were left by the colonialists as "a museum of species" to be viewed by tourists.

The minister warned multi-party proponents not to dare enter Narok District where a solid Nyayo wall has been erected.

"Our African culture is based on a one party democracy where elders sat under a tree, deliberated until they consensually agreed. They did not need multi-groups to agree," said Mr. Ntimama.

The MP [Member of Parliament] for Starehe in Nairobi, Mr. Gerishon Kirima backed Kenya's one party system and asked church leaders to keep out of politics.

In another development, the head of the Kenya Redeemed Church, Bishop Alan Njeru, said yesterday that the failure of Kanu as a single political party was not a failure of democracy.

The Bishop said Kenyans were interested in a system which guaranteed their freedom to elect leaders and accused the ruling party of undermining such freedom.

He said Kenyans were dissatisfied with the Kanu constitution because it gave room to rigging during elections.

Bishop Njeru urged Kanu Governing Council to revise the constitution so that wananchi could rally firmly behind the one party system in Kenya.

"Let us support our President and the ruling party with a hope that necessary changes would be made to make Kanu popular," he said.

He suggested that the queue voting system be scrapped to give way for free participation by wananchi without fear of intimidation by the authorities.

### Tanzania

#### \* Nyerere Said To Endorse Multiparty System

34000749B Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN  
ECONOMIST in English Apr/May 90 pp 29-30

[Article: "Nyerere's About-Turn"]

[Text] After years of pushing for a one-party system, Tanzania's founding father now seems to think that political pluralism is not so bad after all.

Mr Julius Nyerere never fails to live up to his billing: he is always controversial. When he was in power as president of Tanzania he pronounced himself on socialism (Ujamaa) and on the one-party state with the fervour and ferociousness of a religious zealot and at once hating capitalism and denouncing the multi-party system became fashionable full time preoccupations with many of Africa's leaders.

But when he visited Zimbabwe in 1982 and dropped the hint to Mr Robert Mugabe that capitalist might not be such a bad people after all, news proclaiming Mr Nyerere's reconciliation with capitalism hit the headlines in many countries.

Now Mr Nyerere, the chairman of Tanzania's sole and ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), and the father of the one-party state in East and Southern Africa, has again hit the headlines—this time with news that contemplating and even desiring a multi-party system may no longer be an unpardonable lapse in Tanzania. On the contrary, it could be a supreme act of patriotism because, in his view, the party which he leads has become much too bureaucratic and over-sensitive to criticism. He complained that CCM was supposed to be close to the people but it was leaving them behind. Too much unchallenged power had made CCM complacent to the point of stagnation.

But Mr Nyerere, who was addressing these remarks to the heads of the state-owned mass media institutions recently, after a meeting of the CCM National Executive Committee convened to consider events in Eastern Europe, did not flag off the multi-party system to a free-for-all melee. He said the parties concerned had to be national, secular and socialist. He added that the constitution could ban parties hell-bent on building capitalism and there could be specific provisions against the denationalisation of nationalised assets. There was no question of using the multi-party system to divert Tanzania from its socialist path. He dismissed as absurd whisperings that socialism might vanish with his passing from power. "It is wrong to think that Ujamaa will be abandoned after all these years as it is not someone's ideology. It is not out of vanity that I say this. Ujamaa has taken root in Tanzania."

Coming from Mr Nyerere the idea of a multi-party system is guaranteed to spark a lively debate among Tanzanians especially that he has made it clear that such debate would no longer be heresy. Before now, expressing views of this type against CCM policies or directives was calling for trouble. One James Mapalala of Dar es Salaam was detained without trial in the early 1980's for allegedly forming a clandestine opposition party.

In the same press briefing, Mr Nyerere, the architect of the Arusha Declaration (Tanzania's Ujamaa Manifesto) also said that despite its shortcomings, Tanzania's sole ruling party marches with the times. But whatever may be the verdict of the Tanzanians themselves about that claim, there is no doubt that Mr Nyerere keeps abreast with the times. When the former president could not see eye to eye with the International Monetary Fund, he retired to make room for others who might. In 1987 when CCM was celebrating its tenth anniversary and 20 years of the Arusha Declaration, Mr Nyerere rejected proposals to review some provisions in the Arusha Declaration. He said there wasn't a single sentence or paragraph that needed change. At the recent press briefing he told the heads of the mass media that the provisions of the Arusha Declaration were valid at the time they were formulated but that time had come for them to be reviewed.

One such area, he said, needing review was the country's leadership code, some of whose provisions, he said, were unrealistic in view of the prevailing economic and social realities. Under the leadership code almost all civil servants and public sector employees and all CCM

members are not allowed to own shares in 'capitalist' companies, to accept directorships in such companies, to earn more than one salary, own houses for renting or engage in any business. But it is common knowledge that the code has been observed mainly in the breach even by the most ardent Ujamaaphiles as without such lapses from rectitude they might not make ends meet, given the low salaries payable in the public sector.

Mr Nyerere did not say when and how CCM would set about transforming Tanzania into a multi-party state but according to the national news agency, Shihata, that is

imminent: its sources confirmed that CCM vice-chairman and president of Tanzania, Mr Ali Hassan Mwinyi, is in favour of the idea as is the CCM secretary general, Mr Rashidi Kawawa. But the feeling among intellectuals in Dar es Salaam is that the transformation had better take place now, just in case Mr Nyerere decides to retire. Such people fear that the change may never come once Mr Nyerere is off the scene as there are some in both CCM's Central Committee and National Executive Committee who are opposed to it and who would take the first available opportunity to ditch it.

**TV Interview With President F.W. De Klerk**

*MB2706210190 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] The state president says a climate which makes the process of reform irreversible has already been created in South Africa. In an interview with our political correspondent in the Union Buildings yesterday, after this year's parliamentary session, Mr. de Klerk commented on the pace of reform, the government's talks with the African National Congress [ANC], violence perpetrated by the far right, and several other issues. Our interviewer is Clarence Keyter:

[Begin recording] [Keyter] Mr. President, welcome to the program, and thank you for your time.

[De Klerk] Good evening.

[Keyter] This year's parliamentary session has come to an end. On 2 February you announced important steps; you presented South Africa and the world at large with a glimpse of what you have in mind for this country. Are you now where you hoped, or thought, you would be?

[De Klerk] I think we have made particularly good progress. Let me put it like this: on the negative side, I have no disappointments. On the positive side, I think we have made a great deal of progress in creating a climate in which true negotiations may get off the ground soon. 'Soon' is a relative term, but I am full of hope for the future, in light of the progress that has already been made.

[Keyter] Dr. Viljoen said last week that the government hopes to enter the phase of true negotiations next year.

[De Klerk] Yes, I think that is a real possibility. Certain things do, of course, still need to happen, but I feel that such a time scale is attainable.

[Keyter] Mr. President, you have often referred to the process of reform which has to be made irreversible. The government is also in a hurry, as some cabinet members have said. Are you not trying to rush things in the process?

[De Klerk] No, I do not think so at all. I would just like to expand a little bit on the concept of irreversibility. Nobody in South Africa wants the present constitution to remain in place. On one issue there is general consensus, and that is that we need a new dispensation. And among the vast majority there is consensus that this should come about by way of peaceful negotiations. That constitutes immense progress, and that has created a climate which in fact makes the process irreversible. Nobody can turn back to a situation of stagnation in which there is no new thinking in order to lay a new foundation for a better and a truly just South Africa. How exactly to go about it is a matter which has to be thoroughly thought out and talked about during negotiations. I believe, and we are bound by a promise, that before this becomes a reality, it has to be accepted by the

current constitutional structures, after a democratic process. We therefore foresee a situation in which no disorderly or overhasty action will be taken, and which encompasses the continuation of good government within the current government structures at all levels, and parallel with that, the process of negotiation. When we have the fruits of negotiation, it will be tested, and a final mandate will be sought. The mandate for negotiations has been obtained by me and my party, which is currently the governing party, on the basis of that assurance, and we intend to stick to that promise. So the hysterics over the concept of irreversibility, the hysterics suggesting that actions are now being taken which bind everybody forever, are not justified at all. Democracy makes provision for those who feel threatened to voice their opinion on this matter.

[Keyter] You speak of the mandate. The right-wing parties have, during the session, dominated several debates with the argument that you and the government do not have a mandate for what you are now doing.

[De Klerk] Yes, it is a well-known tactic: If you repeat an untruth often enough, people may eventually start believing it. We emphatically deny that. We have a mandate for what we are doing, and in the same parliamentary session we have argued over that fact, and during the recess we will take the matter further and indicate that this accusation is unfounded.

[Keyter] Can I just return to the process of reform. The government has probably, according to many people, bent over backwards since 2 February. Apart from discussions with the ANC [African National Congress], and a document which was issued after the Groote Schuur meeting, and a few other items on the agenda, you still have an ANC propagating violence and sanctions, you still have labor law disputes, you have strikes—that must surely be a problem for you.

[De Klerk] Well, for the sake of perspective we first have to say that, before we began the initiatives, we also had strikes, marches, violence—we had exactly the same problems. So it is wrong to conclude that today's problems in this regard result from the initiatives which we have taken. What is true is that the level of violence is too high; that is why we have taken firm steps to dramatically improve our ability to maintain law and order, combat crime, and protect lives and property, through major additional expense. In the same spirit, we are doing everything in our power to strengthen the commitment to a peaceful solution among those still speaking equivocally about violence and participation in peaceful negotiations. We do not negotiate with the ANC; they are not yet fully, and unequivocally, committed to peaceful negotiations and opposed to violence and intimidation. We have made progress at the Groote Schuur meeting, but there is still a dualism among them. The continued preaching of violence is an obstacle, from our point of view, in the way to negotiation, and therefore I want to give the assurance that we will not allow this country to lapse into anarchy, and that peaceful



negotiation can only truly get off the ground once there is a sufficiently broad base of participants who are fully committed to finding solutions, committed to peaceful negotiations and such a process.

[Keyter] President, do you eventually see the ANC as a partner or a just a negotiating partner?

[De Klerk] I think we should view the negotiating table as an opportunity for all leaders who have a proved power base, whether it is big or small, and who are committed and bound to peaceful solutions, to attempt to reach a broad consensus through negotiation, almost as if in a melting pot. Through this, I believe, certain principled approaches will be born along with support for people with definite principled approaches. Therefore, I see everyone who wants to participate and who meets these requirements as negotiating partners in the negotiating process.

[Keyter] What about the parties and organizations who have already stated that they are not interested in negotiations and that they will not negotiate with criminals?

[De Klerk] Nobody wants to negotiate with criminals, but parties who exclude themselves because they are not prepared to try to increase the number of people who want to negotiate. Those people who associate themselves with violence are excluding themselves. They are promoting the process of violence. It is so obvious that it is in the interest of every South African that organizations and movements who used to depend on violence should move away from violence to peaceful solutions, and I cannot understand that anyone should object if an attempt is made to achieve this.

[Keyter] If the utterances of violence from the right wing and also, as proved, the two bombings over the weekend at NP [National Party] offices, should grow so that it can hinder the process, what then?

[De Klerk] It should not happen because we have a legal government in this country with legal steps that can be taken with the power and ability to exercise these steps. The government will not step back if it has to use the legal process objectively.

[Keyter] Can we just return to the ANC Mr. President. Mr. Mandela is overseas at the moment. From a few speeches the general perception is that he is doing reasonably well with his tour overseas. Does this not make your tour a month ago unsuccessful.

[De Klerk] No, not at all. I do not view it in that light and incidentally, it is not interpreted like that by most of the commentators. My tour was not one of begging for the discontinuance of sanctions. I have said that from the beginning. The aim of my tour was to present the new perspective of the new reality in South Africa, and the fact that this new perspective is established and is busily growing, is showing through even during Mr. Mandela's tour. It shows through clearly in the media overseas,

because there is a new reality. Therefore I think that the fruits of my tour as head of Government of South Africa will be picked on the road ahead. Through our experiences we can see that a totally new climate exists.

[Keyter] President, in your view, did the leaders that you have spoken to in Europe tell you something different than what they have told Mr. Mandela?

[De Klerk] I was not with them when they spoke with Mr. Mandela. I was only there when they spoke to me, so I can only judge Mr. Mandela's interpretation and I must say that in certain cases it seems that there might have been contradictory statements, but every leader of state must speak for himself in this regard.

[Keyter] You referred earlier to the process of negotiation. I infer from this that you have stated it very pertinently, that it will be a multiparty process of negotiation. Am I correct?

[De Klerk] Definitely, not a two party negotiation process. Do you know, it is almost as if too big a number of our population tends to be the victim of propaganda? That especially refers to me and the NP from the far right, as if we and the ANC are suddenly sitting with our arms around each other, as if we are suddenly procommunist, as if we are not anticommunist, as if we have actually decided to hand power over in a situation where among others, the white minority will be suppressed, and nothing can be further from the truth. Multiparty negotiation is a prerequisite. It cannot be a two-party negotiation. There are obviously bigger and smaller players depending on your support corps, but even the small ones must sit there. We still insist on that. The fact that we are still involved in bilateral talks with the ANC does not arise because we are merely negotiating with them, but we are talking about problems that affect them fairly uniquely, and that does not affect others. Inkatha does not have exiles. Inkatha is not committed, if I may just use one political movement, to violence or the use of violence as part of the solution. The ANC is involved in this, but I am also talking to Inkatha. I talk to homeland leaders, and I talk to parliamentary leaders within the parliamentary system. This afternoon I spoke to far right leaders who are not represented in parliament. So it is a wrong perception that discussions are only taking place between us and the ANC, but I want to refute one thing: that is that the government, the NP, is prepared to find itself on a path of suicide, for the values that we believe in and for those who feel threatened, through the possibility of a situation where they feel that their rights are being trampled upon.

In South Africa we cannot ever accept such a dispensation. There must be a balance. There must be assurance for all the groups of the population. This is our belief. This is the way we want to build a new South Africa, because this is reasonable and this is fair. We do not want to protect minorities through means that will be to a disadvantage to bigger population groups and to the disadvantage of the majority. We do not want to pursue



minority domination through any devious means, but we do want to protect minorities from the abuse of power. We do not want a winner takes all situation, and this is fundamental until our point of departure, and a wrong perception is created of everything that we say and believe and that is expected of us.

[Keyter] President, if you and the government have to take such a firm stand in respect to the protection of minority rights, will that not be interpreted as the continuance of apartheid in a new disguise?

[De Klerk] Not at all. Minority rights are protected effectively in countries who have never practiced apartheid. It is almost a necessity in a country with a diverse population. Even where there are no racial differences, and simple cultural differences exist, it is deemed necessary in countries throughout the world to include forms of minority rights. In Canada there is a big debate at the moment. Why? Over the distinct French society. Switzerland has accommodated its minorities and has protected them against majority rule. In Belgium there are systems. Even in America a minority of the electorate votes for the majority of the senators, and that is a great part of their constitution. Therefore, it makes complete sense for South Africa to look at similar models, and it would be a negation of reality to go for a simplistic majority government model.

[Keyter] In this whole process of negotiation, Mr. President, you and the government repeatedly rejected that anyone should think in terms of a constitutional meeting. Why?

[De Klerk] South Africa is not Namibia, it is not Rhodesia, it is not a country looking for independence that should be made independent on a basis of establishing a new state. South Africa is a sovereign independent country and that sovereignty and independence is recognized throughout the world. We have a legal constitution that is viewed critically and that is in effect, not perfect. It must therefore be revised, but it is a legal constitution, and because this is so, we cannot and we dare not create a constitutional vacuum that will lead to major uncertainty. This can lead to anarchy that will undermine the law of existing governmental structures and the continuance of effective government. Therefore, it is necessary that the fruits of negotiation should first be acquired, then tested, and then be made law on a constitutional basis within the framework of the current constitution. During this process effective governance should continue. The acceptance of a constitutional meeting linked to the idea of international guidance will lead to a distancing from our sovereignty and independent status.

[Keyter] Will this be a case of selling out the whites?

[De Klerk] This will be a case of legitimacy of a government, who is not hard pressed, but to place that government under pressure. This will, I think, have that result and many other negative results.

[Keyter] Mr. President, the opening of the National Party to all races—is that part of the process of the search for the new South Africa?

[De Klerk] I believe that in a new dispensation, in which there is full democratic participation for all, in whatever form, cooperation agreements, alliances—whatever you want to call it—will come into being, in respect of principles, viewpoints, and values. Therefore, the National Party will certainly find allies—other parties, other movements which move in the same direction, which hold the same values, and will therefore wish to cooperate with the National Party, and with whom the National Party will, in turn, wish to cooperate. Such cooperation could lead to the birth of new entities—in Namibia a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance came into being as a result of cooperation between various parties, while each maintained its own identity; that is one route. I do not think one should put the cart in front of the horse; we need to reach clarity on principles, foundations, and values, and on what we believe in. Then those who share inner convictions can talk to each other about the way in which they want to cooperate, within the context of the realities of South Africa.

[Keyter] Mr. President, even if all the pillars of apartheid were to be removed, even if a model of democracy were to come into being in South Africa, but the majority of South Africans do not change their attitudes....

[De Klerk, interrupting] You are quite right that with the quantum leap which we are taking, with the dynamics of renewal, a change of attitudes is also necessary—an acceptance of the limitations of our realities. At the same time, we need to remove suspicion, and we can only achieve this by talking with each other. I would like to say that in our election campaign before 6 September, that was one of the major goals which we had set for ourselves: to replace suspicions with better understanding. So through a changed attitude, one can in fact find broad consensus on a basis of give and take which can, in the long run, make the new South Africa a stable and safe South Africa—permanently.

[Keyter] Mr. President, thank you very much for your time.

[De Klerk] Thank you very much. [end recording]

#### **President De Klerk Speaks Out Against Sanctions**

*MB2706162090 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1545 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] President F.W. de Klerk says the international community, the ANC [African National Congress] and the South African community should move away from the existing approach to sanctions. He says South Africa is not reforming because of sanctions but because it believes reform is necessary and right. He said the longer sanctions against the country continue and the country suffers economically, the longer all South Africans would have to wait for prosperity. President de Klerk says the

government is in a hurry to begin negotiations and the ANC has alleged that it is also ready. He said that there were various points of contention that the government was attending to. In an interview with the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] President de Klerk spelt out the way towards a new constitution.

[Begin de Klerk video recording] We believe that the right route is to negotiate. From those negotiations will emanate broad consensus as to what a new constitution should be like and then that new constitution must be implemented. A constituent assembly elected before you really start with negotiations causes a constitutional vacuum, causes uncertainty and undermines the capability of present government structures to continue with good government while negotiation takes place, and what this country cannot afford is a situation where there is so much uncertainty that it might turn into anarchy, and where basic authority and maintaining of good government is made impossible. [end recording]

#### EC Softens Stance

MB2606183490 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] The 12 leaders of the European Community have acknowledged, in a statement issued following their summit meeting in Dublin, that President De Klerk has brought about important changes in South Africa, and they promised to ease sanctions if further progress is made.

In the statement, that is described as a significant softening of the Community's standpoint on sanctions, President De Klerk is praised for his courage and foresight. According to the statement, the Community is prepared to consider the gradual lifting of sanctions if there is clear evidence that the process of change is indeed taking the desired course.

The Prime Minister of Ireland, Mr. Charles Haughey, who chaired the summit meeting, said that the reforms thus far in South Africa had created only an interim solution and did not yet justify the lifting of sanctions.

#### Foreign Minister Comments

MB2606190390 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1831 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Pretoria, 26 Jun (SAPA)—The declaration by the European Community on southern Africa on Tuesday [26 June] meant that in practical terms South Africa's isolation had ended, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha said.

"On the basis of information available to me there was, with few exceptions, a consensus that President (F.W.) De Klerk had already crossed the threshold," Mr. Botha said in a statement to SAPA on Tuesday.

"What the declaration says, albeit not in so many words, is that South Africa has regained international respectability. One man has done that: F.W. de Klerk."

The EC decided on Tuesday that sanctions against South Africa would be relaxed only when "clear evidence" emerges of continuing progress towards removing apartheid.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher argued that President De Klerk had already done enough to warrant a political reward from the EC.

The EC told Mr. De Klerk that some sanctions could be lifted if his apartheid reforms continued.

Mr. Botha said in a statement the EC had clearly acknowledged that important changes had already occurred in South Africa.

"In the declaration full credit is given to President De Klerk's bold initiatives.

"Emphasis is placed on the necessity to achieve a solution to South Africa's problems through peaceful means. The use of violence is rejected. By implication this means that the ANC's [African National Congress] adherence to the armed struggle is unacceptable."

He said it was important to note that the EC supported the idea that respect for universal human rights would be guaranteed.

"This implies that the future constitution would have to contain a mechanism which would make it impossible for a simple majority to violate or infringe those rights.

"Protection of minority rights is not explicitly dealt with, but the concept is certainly not excluded."

Mr. Botha said the declaration acknowledged that conditions should be negotiated for the return of exiles and a definition of political prisoners, leading to their release, should be agreed upon.

"Another positive point in the declaration is the acknowledgement that the state of emergency has been substantially lifted and that the South African Government is committed to creating a democratic and non-racial South Africa."

#### De Klerk Approves Several Free Settlement Areas

MB2806095490 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0900 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, has given his approval for areas at Knysna, Messina, Zuurbeek, near Westonarea, Ottery in Cape Town, Cato Crest in Durban and Waterfall Estates in Johannesburg, to be declared free settlement areas.

The area at Knysna is known as Fisheries Haven, and lies in extension 10. In Cape Town, part of Ottery-Wetton is affected. The part of Messina concerned is

extension eight. Portion 62 of the farm Waterval number five near Johannesburg is to be an open area, as is a portion of the Zuurbekom Agricultural Holdings.

The necessary proclamations will appear in the government gazette soon.

#### **Death Threat Made Against Mandela in U.S.**

*MB2606160490 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1500 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] A death threat has been made against ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela in the United States.

Cable News Network says intelligence reports indicate an assassination attempt would be made against Mandela while he is still in the United States. Winnie Mandela canceled an appearance in Boston yesterday, after a bomb threat was reported. Security has been tight throughout Mandela's visit. There has been no confirmation as yet of the [word indistinct] report.

Mandela is to address a joint sitting of the United States Congress this afternoon.

#### **Reportage on Plot To Kill De Klerk, Mandela**

##### **AWB Accused**

*MB2206172090 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 22 Jun 90 p 1*

[Excerpt] President F.W. de Klerk has been informed of a right-wing plot to stage a coup in which he, five of his Cabinet and Nelson Mandela would have been assassinated, it was reported last night.

The plot also involved taking over Parliament over at gunpoint.

The London TIMES today reports that Johannesburg Afrikaans weekly VRYE WEEKBLAD had handed to the police affidavits from a former intelligence agent who said he had infiltrated the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement—AWB] and recorded conversations among the conspirators.

Security Police were given the names of eight suspects.

In a separate development police last night said they had arrested several people in terms of Section Five of the Criminal Procedure Act.

One of those arrested in Boksburg deputy mayor T.J. Ferreira.

VRYE WEEKBLAD apparently intends to produce at a Press conference in Johannesburg today a video and other items featuring evidence of AWB militancy.

The video tape will disclose that the planned coup was imminent, as Parliament is to go into recess today.

Another aspect of the plan was that Mandela would be shot by a sniper at Jan Smuts Airport when he returns from the U.S.

The plan was apparently hatched shortly after De Klerk released Mandela and unbanned political organisations.

The newspaper said that an employee of the Boksburg council, Johannes Smuts, had been approached by right wingers to carry out the killing of Mandela.

Smuts told the paper an AWB member explained they did not want to use AWB members and that Mandela should be shot from a helicopter at a mass rally by people posing as a TV crew covering the rally.

At this point Smuts contacted VRYE WEEKBLAD's reporter. "I decided to find out more of the AWB's plan, because I regard it as my duty—considering that the planned action held great dangers for national security."

On June 1 the AWB member visited him and said F.W. [de Klerk] was to be assassinated.

Smuts said that on Monday [18 June] a Boksburg CP [Conservative Party] member said the Cabinet Ministers were on a AWB hit list along with MPs. He said that a CP MP had agreed to smuggle weapons into the House of Assembly to enable the AWB to threaten Parliament while it was in session. [passage omitted]

##### **Mandela Comments on Alleged Plot**

*MB2206150390 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1445 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Text] New York, 22 Jun (SAPA)—African National Congress [ANC] Deputy President Nelson Mandela said in New York on Friday [22 June] he was too busy to worry about reports of a white rightwing assassination plot waiting for him on his return to South Africa.

Speaking briefly to newsmen after meeting with businessmen at the World Trade Centre on the third day of his visit to New York, he commented on the plot reports by saying the ANC would be able to continue functioning well without him should he fall victim to an assassin's bullet.

##### **AWB Official Remarks**

*MB2206201690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2008 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Text] Johannesburg, 22 Jun (SAPA)—The executive committee of the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] on Friday [22 June] night said it was convinced that a proper police investigation would show that Mr. Heinrich Beissner, who is allegedly linked with a plot to kill ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela, had been "atrociously misused and enticed".

Mr. Beissner is one of a number of people who, according to a report in the VRYE WEEKBLAD, told an



informant, Mr. Jannie Smith, that there were plans afoot to assassinate Mr. Mandela, President F.W. de Klerk, other members of the cabinet and SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] personnel, the SABC-TV news reports.

AWB Chief Secretary Mr. Kays Smit said in a statement from Ventersdorp that although Mr. Beissner was a member of the AWB, he was not an officer of the movement's defence commandos and would never have been considered as such.

Mr. Smit said the AWB found it utterly strange and deliberately mean that such an old man—Mr. Beissner is nearly 80—who had survived wars and bomb-shock, now had words put into his mouth.

The report, he said, smacked of misuse of a very emotional and confused old person's trust.

The AWB accused the newspaper of using "strange names of people who certainly were unstable to make wild statements" to create the wrong impression of the political struggle of rightist politics.

#### Source on 'Coup' Under Guard

MB2206165090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1628 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Johannesburg, 22 Jun (SAPA)—The man who infiltrated the ultra-rightwing and revealed plans to assassinate President F.W. de Klerk and African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela is in hiding under police guard.

Mr. Max du Preez, the editor of VRYE WEEKBLAD—the Afrikaans weekly newspaper that broke the story on Friday [22 June] of radical rightwing plans to wreak havoc in SA [South Africa], eventually leading to a rightwing coup—told a media conference Mr. Jan Smith had "left town and was under police guard."

Mr. Smith was advised to infiltrate rightwing military structures by VRYE WEEKBLAD after he was approached to participate in a plot to kill Mr. Mandela.

"He was there merely to listen, he would never suggest anything—he played along," Mr. du Preez said.

He said as a trusted informant, the former security policeman and National Intelligence Service member was held in the highest regard by the newspaper as far as his information was concerned.

"He is utterly reliable and stable. A middle-of-the-road Afrikaans speaking person who believes in the reform process and a negotiated settlement."

Mr. du Preez dismissed as "outrageous" suggestions that the newspaper's informers or the rightwing were "egged on" in order to get a sensational story.

"Our credibility is our highest priority," he said.

A photograph of Mr. Smith appeared on the front page of the newspaper on Friday.

"I talked Jannie into it," Mr. du Preez said. "We have been trying for weeks to pressure government into taking seriously the right-wing threat, the Civil Co-operation Bureau and what's going on in the security forces."

#### 11 Linked to Plots Released

MB2206135290 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] The police have released all 11 of those arrested last night in connection with an alleged plot to assassinate top national leaders.

One of those arrested was former Conservative Party [CP], Boksburg town councillor T.J. Ferreira. Ferreira says he was well treated by the police. He refused to say anything about what questions he was asked because he said this would jeopardize investigations being undertaken by the police. Ferreira says at this stage he doesn't support a violent overthrow of the government.

[Begin Ferreira recording] I don't see why it should be overthrown. I am a Treurnicht supporter and as long Dr. Treurnicht feels that there is a chance of parliamentary victory I will support him in that. [end recording]

#### Police Comment on Release

MB2606084090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0802 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Johannesburg June 26 SAPA—The 11 rightwingers detained and later released by police last week were released because the results of a police investigation did not warrant their further detention, a police spokesman said on Tuesday [26 June].

Brigadier Vic Heyns told SAPA, however, that the police investigation was continuing but there was still no breakthrough in the case. "The results of our investigation did not warrant their further detention," Brig. Heyns said.

The 11—including Boksburg Town Councillor Mr T.J. Ferreira and AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] commander Mr. Heinrich Beissner—were detained on Thursday evening in connection with allegedly plotting to assassinate Mr. Nelson Mandela, President F.W. de Klerk and conspiring to wreak havoc in the country.

They were detained for questioning in terms of Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act and released shortly afterwards. Brig. Heyns declined to name the 11—who are all believed to come from the East Rand—saying police did not disclose the names of those they held for questioning.

The detentions followed allegations by Mr. Jan Smit who allegedly infiltrated ultra-rightwing groups and exposed the alleged assassination plots. Mr. Smit also claimed to have been a former National Intelligence Service and

security police agent but this has subsequently been denied by the security police. Mr. Smit has since gone underground.

Subsequent to these incidents making headlines, Mr. Beissner, 76, has resigned from the AWB.

Disclosures on the assassination plots and the subsequent release of the 11 alleged suspects has caused widespread outrage. The ANC has demanded that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok prosecute the 11 "to the full extent of the law" and warned that the attitude of the authorities towards "white racist, neo-fascist and white supremacist groups could seriously jeopardise the process of removing obstacles to negotiations."

**27 June Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**  
MB2706123990

[Editorial Report]

**THE CITIZEN**

Winnie Mandela's Remarks 'Deplorable'—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 26 June in its page 6 editorial finds "deplorable" Winnie Mandela's remarks in Harlem, United States, on 21 June about "fighting the white man." "Isn't that blatant racialism? What would Mrs. Mandela think if the state president said that if the negotiations went wrong he would fight the black man? Are all whites bad? Are all blacks bad? We certainly don't think so." "Making threats like the kind she made in New York is unbecoming and a great disservice to the cause Mr. Mandela represents."

**THE STAR**

ANC Sanctions Stance Not Consistent—To "show their seriousness" about sanctions the organizers of Nelson Mandela's tour of the United States have banned Coca-Cola products from the "luxury chartered jet" the African National Congress (ANC) entourage are using. "Coca-Cola is among the many U.S. firms on the anti-apartheid 'verboden' list." However, "the gesture might be more meaningful if the aircraft itself were not a Boeing, from a company which continues to sell planes to South Africa despite sanctions." The ANC is "reported to have ordered a costly computer from IBM, a firm forced out by sanctions, and other U.S. office machines. Yet to be finalised is when Mr. Mandela will take delivery of a top-range Mercedes, a gift from the workers of yet another firm that isn't supposed to be operating here. It would help the case for sanctions—a political weapon that has now served its time—if its advocates displayed a bit of consistency."

**BUSINESS DAY**

Bush Hands 'Tied' on Sanctions—The EC has taken a "benign" and "understandable" attitude toward the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa," notes Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 27 June in

a page 10 editorial. "Officially, sanctions remain; unofficially they will continue to erode as has increasingly been happening in recent months. The EC leaders may not have intended it, but their attitude will encourage this process." "Another effect of the EC attitude will be further to reduce this country's links with the U.S., whose sanctions legislation is both tougher in effect and less easy to amend. President Bush, too, has praised the steps taken by President de Klerk; he would like to be flexible but his hands are tied."

**SOWETAN**

Clip Student Organization Wings—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 27 June in a page 6 editorial points out "schools are not functioning despite an undertaking by the Congress of South African Students and the National Education Union of South Africa that the winter holidays would be used to make up for time lost during school disruptions earlier this year." "It is time that the ANC, PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] brought order back to our schools. For starters, the wings of student organisations need to be clipped. The awesome powers they have been allowed to wield have gone to their heads. They no longer know what their domain is and what it is not."

**THE DAILY MAIL**

Need for Joint De Klerk-Mandela Reinvestment Call—The page 8 editorial in Johannesburg THE DAILY MAIL in English on 27 June refers to the "convincing argument" of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative's, Dr. Alex Boraine, that suggests a "cock-eyed view is being taken of the sanctions issue—and that there should be a good deal of optimism about it." Boraine "paints an exciting picture: Mandela and De Klerk, standing side by side, making a joint appeal to the world to end sanctions and begin reinvestment. That would come as a 'big bang', an event significant enough to generate international interest and boost the prospects of reinvestment." Therefore, de Klerk and Mandela "need to soothe each other's constituents. The president needs to go out of his way to convince blacks that reforms are not just a ruse to make sanctions disappear. He should say that he favours the 'joint call' option, and is prepared to be patient." Mandela should "reassure whites that there are rewards for change, and that they will begin to flow when the negotiating process reaches its point of maturity. So we say do not lift sanctions unilaterally, or in dribs and drabs. But we will be the first to toss our hats into the air when De Klerk and Mandela emerge together to call for an influx of foreign capital. Which makes us pro-South African, and pro-prosperity."

**CAPE TIMES**

Government Must Address Rightwing 'Terrorism'—"It is time for the de Klerk government to face the threat of rightwing terrorism," warns Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 25 June in its page 8 editorial. "Unless this malignant growth is checked it could set back political



advance for a generation." The government has been "rather too complacent about the menace of rightwing terrorism."

### \* Businessmen Debate Future of Economy

34000746 Cape Town THE ARGUS  
in English 15, 16 May 90 pp 11, 13

[Article by David Yutar]

#### [Part I: 15 May 90 p 13]

[Text] "The future is at once both dramatically different and yet much the same," says Professor Wolfgang Thomas of the Small Business Development corporation about the current economic developments and the next 10 years in South Africa.

Dr. Thomas makes the point that one cannot compartmentalize economic and political change and that often a process of change has already been happening without our noticing it.

"Often what looks dramatic now is part of a broad and gradual process," he says.

Frequently, we think nothing has happened, but when we look more closely, change has been happening for some time.

According to him the next 10 years and a post-apartheid economy are already being shaped at this very moment.

He cites labor relations as an example.

#### Management

"Although it may seem that it is still the management at the top that make all the decisions, on closer examination it becomes evident that for the last 10 years there has been a gradual democratization especially with regard to decision-making in the more successful companies.

"And today, much more than before, company decisions take cognisance of the needs and demands of labor."

"Today if there is a strike, management will be much more inclined to ask whether they are perhaps responsible for it."

Dr. Thomas says the debate about economic democracy or democratic socialism is often a call for greater participation in the workplace at every level.

"I think we are learning... our business schools are churning out people with a different philosophy, our universities and personnel consultants are too..."

#### Vociferous

"That is why I say that things are at once dramatically different and yet the same."

Although Dr. Thomas may be right in saying that this process of change is already occurring, the fact remains that private enterprise in this country is and has for some time been at the receiving end of vociferous and well-articulated criticism from the ANC [African National Congress] and other similar organizations.

Mr. Walter Sisulu of the ANC recently told South African businessmen in Johannesburg: "In our view, what you would call 'private enterprise' has done a lot to shape the basic structures of apartheid.

"Apartheid stands on the pillars of private capital which have been heavily protected by the state.

"The point we make needs to be answered, that the history of our country has been marked by a grotesque sense of social irresponsibility on the part of the business sector towards black people."

Mr. Jim Buys, economic advisor to the Anglo-American Corporation, feels that the accusation that private enterprise has been the hand-maiden of apartheid is without justification and points out that it is rather that many government policies which have had strong socialist tendencies have detrimentally affected a large segment of the community.

#### Visions

What we need, says Mr. Buys, is not a curtailing of the market economy but rather its extension to include those hitherto excluded from its operation.

"The accusation that private enterprise has colluded with the apartheid system to the detriment of black South Africans is completely misplaced," says Mr. Buys.

"The real problem in South Africa is that the market-based system has not operated for the majority of South Africans who have been excluded (by governmental legislation) from the operation of market forces.

"They have in fact suffered more from the effect of policies which are more akin to socialist policies than to market-based policies."

Mr. Raymond Ackerman, MD of Pick n'Pay, the country's largest food chain, which expects to have a turnover in excess of R5 billion this year, shares many of Mr. Buys's visions but starts off from a different premise.

"We have seen 80 years of naked capitalism in the last century with the colonization of Southern Africa by the English, the Portuguese and others," says Mr. Ackerman.

"That was real rampant capitalism seeking only the maximization of wealth and taking no account of the needs of the people.

"That, in turn, brought about the rise of socialism and communism, both of which we've now seen on the decline."

Mr. Ackerman says he foresees this country, together with the nations of the western world, moving away from the "naked and rampant capitalism" of the last 80 years towards a more human-oriented social economy.

#### Imbalances

Mr. Ackerman, like several other business leaders and economists I spoke to, sees a post-apartheid South Africa choosing a via media in the form of a social economy in which there is as much government intervention as is necessary to redress the imbalances of the past.

"Now what's forming in its place is a combination of the two (socialism and communism) and I believe that's what we and the western world are moving towards."

Mr. Ackerman, like Mr. Buys of Anglo American, believes that the market-based system has to have a "social underpinning" and Mr. Ackerman has certainly put this belief into practice.

He says his company could in fact make substantially more profit than it has done but has "spent an absolute fortune on housing and bursaries." (Pick n'Pay has invested between R60m and R70m in housing schemes and education and has expanded membership of its employee share scheme from 2000 to 9000 last year.)

He says that if private companies embark on the kind of upliftment programs that his company has, then there can be an "automatic redistribution of wealth" within the next 10 years—a process he says his company has been engaged in for the last 20 years, "long before the new South Africa."

#### Coalition

Dr. Thomas of the SBDC [Small Business Development Corporation] agrees that we are moving in the direction of a mixed economy which will be essentially a market-oriented one albeit with certain socialist features.

"Even if South Africa is about to enter a phase when socialist ideas take on and when the economy may reflect the socialist ideas of a coalition government, I think that in 10 years' time we will have come out of such a phase.

"We will then have a mixed economy where government plays a fairly important role but the private sector is still the "dominant sector in the economy."

Dr. Thomas compares South Africa, "optimistically" to Spain which he says "has been going through pretty dark ages and has come out with a nominally socialist economy which is essentially market-oriented and with Spain being a happy member of the EEC."

A theme that pervaded the views of most of the people I spoke to was that even if the ANC [African National Congress] was now talking in terms of a truly socialist economy, by the time all the parties had emerged from the process of negotiations, the economy would in

essence resemble a market economy compromised by having strong elements of governmental intervention to redress past imbalances.

#### Experience

Dr. Thomas says he does not think the ANC is proposing a truly socialist economy and given the experience of other semi-developed countries, he does not think a socialist system will emerge from the negotiating process.

"But we won't have a free-market economy either," he points out.

The social market economy has been described by its proponents as "as much of the market as possible, together with as much government as is necessary."

It is contrasted to the socialist economy in which the definition is turned around to read "as much government as possible, with as much of the market as necessary" and the free market economy, which has been defined as "as much of the market as possible with as limited government as possible."

The businessmen I spoke to as well as economist Dr. Thomas all spoke in terms of what amounted to some form of social market economy. They were all critical of a controlled or command economy in which widescale nationalization and government intervention replaced the rule of market forces.

#### Intervention

But then neither did they argue that in the post-apartheid South Africa we would have a totally free market economy since they all perceived the important role that limited government intervention could play in a post-apartheid period, with many economic imbalances needing to be redressed.

Having compared South Africa's 'high road' to that of Spain, with a 'nominally' socialist economy which is essentially market-controlled, Dr. Thomas spells out his vision—one which is quite compatible with the ideas of Mr. Jim Buys and Mr. Raymond Ackerman.

"What we will probably see is a so-called social market economy, where the market mechanism dominates but where there is quite a lot of intervention and where companies have a fairly strong feeling of responsibility, or if they don't, they will be bullied into doing so.

"The Social market economy, which was introduced in Germany after the war, stems from a recognition of the need for a combination between the social responsibility of the government and the private sector and the market mechanism.

"It is very different from the socialist model or command economy where government controls the market and which has mostly been a failure for a variety of reasons."

**Employees**

"The redistribution process will take place largely through companies having to do far more for employees and also having to give in on wage issues and other labor demands."

This view accords with that of Mr. Ackerman's view of a market economy with a "strong social underpinning".

Dr. Thomas warns that in such an economy government will have to spend far more on education and will not be allowed to privatize as much as they would have liked.

Mr. Jim Buys shares Mr. Ackerman's confidence that "all those sitting around the negotiating table will be persuaded that solutions to our problems can best be found within a market-based economy".

He adds that he would not try to push the idea of the pure free market too much "even though I fully accept that the free market should be promoted as an ideal."

Both Mr. Buys and Mr. Ackerman agree with Dr. Thomas's prediction that expenditure on such items as housing and education will increase rapidly in a post-apartheid economy and both feel that large corporations have an important role to play.

"I am quite happy about a future government introducing laws to force companies to redistribute wealth by means of tax structures and employee-benefit schemes... that is different to direct government intervention, says Mr. Ackerman.

"If the government says Mr. A you have spent so many million on housing and bursaries—we want to see you increase that by 10 percent and we want you to increase your existing 42 percent black management to 60 percent—that I'm quite amenable to because that is the way in which individual companies can and should participate in the redistribution of wealth and power."

Mr. Buys agrees with this idea but adds that the "redirection" of wealth will always have to be done "within the constraints of broader economic efficiency".

"Because the moment you start impairing the potential for the economy to grow, you set in motion a vicious rather than a virtuous circle, your tax-base doesn't grow and you don't have the wherewithal to do all such things," he says.

Mr. Ackerman says the profit-motive should always remain dominant and that "redirection" should occur within the constraints dictated by the need to make a profit.

"It (redirection) must never be at the expense of building profits because it is profit that will generate more growth of the economy."

**Opposed**

He cites his own company, Pick n' Pay, which expects to make a profit of over R5 billion this year, saying: "But remember that while my company is doing more, I think, than any other retail company in the area of employee welfare programs, it can do this because it is making more profits than any of its competitors too.

Both Mr. Buys and Mr. Ackerman are equally opposed to the idea of intervention in the form of introducing government representation on the boards of companies with a view to influencing investment and labor policy.

Says Mr. Buys: "Unless government has a stake in the business, in the sense of having invested capital, I see no reason why it should have a right to place representatives on the board of private companies.

"Government already takes a large chunk from the organization by way of taxes and as an enterprise expands so that chunk will increase."

**[Part II: 16 May 90 p 11]**

Were majority rule to be introduced in South Africa tomorrow, the country would probably see a socialist-orientated economy with widescale government intervention in the form, for example, of government appointees on company boards and extensive nationalization of key industries, it is often said.

I put this proposition to those interviewed.

"The economy will look different from the present one, not because of the changes wrought by nationalization, but because privatization will increase and the fruits thereof will be used more to redress the imbalances of the present economic dispensation," says Pick n'Pay boss Mr. Raymond Ackerman.

"I think privatization will prove to be an effective tool to redistribute wealth and we are going to be able to put aside the idea of nationalization, which I believe will kill this economy."

**Negotiation**

He adds that such a system will not be achieved easily but will take "a hard two or three years of negotiation."

"But I believe we will have sufficient skill and power to negotiate that with black leadership to come".

Mr. Jim Buys, economic adviser to the Anglo-American Corporation, echoes Mr. Ackerman's optimism, saying that he too doesn't believe that this country will follow the route of widescale nationalization.

"The evidence worldwide that such (command) economies don't work is so overwhelming that although I understand why some people are attracted to such ideas. I think it's extraordinary that those in leadership positions should still be in favor of a regulated economy," he says.



Dr. Brian Kantor, director of the School of Economics at UCT [University of Cape Town], says such policies would have a disastrous effect on the economy in that they would drive away the savers in the country's economy.

"The savers in South Africa are the high-income people and if you drive them away you are going to drive away your savings.

"And unless the tax-base grows the basis for redistribution will become limited."

Dr. Kantor says the problem is that the aspirations of a large sector of the population just cannot be met because "one can't make poor people without skills rich".

He says that although South Africa may be able to make the transition to majority rule without too much of a violent revolution, the prospect of majority rule has however, brought with it the new uncertainty of what a post-apartheid government will do with the economy and also the threat of rampant consumerism.

"When the economy becomes more representative of poor blacks there will be a strong push for more consumption—for consumption now rather than later.

"This will of necessity be at the expense of consumption later... if you consume more and save less you will be better off today but you will have to forego opportunities for growth.

Dr. Kantor says the only way of "untying that knot" is a to attract foreign investment.

And that is another reason why he says he is opposed to nationalization as a means of attempting to redistribute wealth—it will scare away foreign investment.

He stresses that the dearth of foreign investment has been one of the most constraining factors operating against economic growth in South Africa and that if South Africa wants to follow the "high road" for the next 10 years and after that, it will have to make conditions far more attractive to foreign investors.

Dr. Kantor feels very strongly about what he calls "economic naivete" in South Africa at the moment and says that people who are expounding the virtues of nationalization and a state-controlled economy "need to be exposed".

#### Optimistic

"Someone like Mr. Sisulu will get up and speak economic nonsense and white guilt-ridden journalists will just accept it because it's coming from this lovely old man who's spent most of his life in prison," says Dr. Kantor.

But at the end of the day Dr. Kantor, like others interviewed, feels optimistic that South Africa might just manage to keep to the high road.

"The really hopeful factor is that we could get through this transition phase without scorched earth... that is a tremendous plus and we could put up with a lot of economic inefficiency if we can persuade the rest of the world that we are not going to be totally stupid."

He says the country has immense potential for growth given not only its mineral resources but also its "core of experienced, competent management".

"It's the core of students we are training here," he says with emphasis.

"We also have a well-developed system of institutions that can easily accommodate more growth, like banking systems and the stock exchange.

"In many ways we have a first world structure with a third world community... but that's an advantage."

He points out that while many developing countries have to import their skills South Africa has them right here.

Mr. Ackerman echoes this optimism when he says that "If private enterprise is prepared to look after the new South African stake-holders, South Africa will end up not only with a growing economy but also a great growing country."

Dr. Wolfgang Thomas of the Small Business Development Corporation warns however that the process of rapid urbanization will have a profound effect on the economy of the future.

#### Urbanized

Whereas just under 60 percent of all Africans are urbanized today, this figure will have increased to 67 percent by the turn of the century, he says.

But this will have a beneficial result in that we will have improved literacy levels as well as a larger reservoir of entrepreneurial skill from which to draw.

Dr. Thomas feels confident that as South Africa becomes more and more semi-developed it will be able to increase its economic growth to a healthier four percent.

These are some of the broad predictions he makes for the decade ahead:

- By the year 2,000 foreign investment will have increased considerably and South Africa will receive as much foreign investment as other semi-developed countries such as Mexico, Chile and Venezuela.
- The division between the formal and informal sectors of the economy will be less clear and the latter will be far more important insofar as its contribution to the economy is concerned.
- The number of people "in absolute poverty" will probably increase but the number of poor people as a percentage will probably decrease from the present 40 percent to approximately 30 percent of the total population.



- The "entrepreneurial and management bottleneck" will become smaller.
- The mining sector may decline from its present contribution of eight percent of the GDP.
- Agriculture as an economic activity will increase in magnitude and importance.
- Trade unions will have reached the zenith of their power and will become less powerful by the year 205.
- South Africa may still have a fair amount of "class-related unrest" because not all socio-political demands will have been met.
- South Africa's economic role in Southern Africa will be crucial with its export role to the rest of Africa having greatly increased and with other African countries still "having a love-hatred relationship" with South Africa.

#### \* Second Nuclear Plant Allegedly Planned

90AF0188B Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 8  
Apr 90 p 8

[Report in "Health" section by Tobie Boshoff and Pierre Terblanche: "Nuclear Energy Raises Cancer Concern"; first paragraph is RAPPORT introduction]

[Text] In the UK it was recently found that nuclear energy can result in blood cancer. Tobie Boshoff and Pierre Terblanche report on that and, also, on how it might affect South Africa.

Energy has always been one of humankind's biggest problems. Its sources, their utilization, the cost . . .

Then, in the 20th century, nuclear energy was initiated, and pronto, the problems were solved. Just split a little atom or two, and you have enough energy to keep a large city going.

But, unfortunately, it was not that simple. Nuclear energy has its disadvantages, and the arguments on its safety have been raging for a long time. Radiation, waste, explosions—these are just some of the things counting against that form of energy.

Now there is also the danger of cancer.

Men who work at nuclear power plants can probably father children who develop blood cancer.

Children of fathers who are exposed to radioactive radiation have a ten-times greater chance of developing leukemia than other children. For many of the sick children, nothing can be done, and they die at a young age.

These alarming facts recently became known in the UK following the world's first thorough investigation into that connection.

The research team, led by Professor Martin Gardner of the University of Southampton, came to the finding at the Sellafield nuclear power plant (formerly known as Windscale) that radiation damages the sperm of male

workers. This may result in a gene mutation which raises above average the risk of having of children with blood cancer.

The British government, which ordered the investigation, is already helping four families bring to court the authority involved, British Nuclear Fuels. Another 31 families have already contacted their attorneys.

The British minister of health, Mr. Kenneth Clarke, said: "We cannot accept that nuclear energy must result in leukemia. British Nuclear Fuels must urgently see to it that people are not exposed to such risks."

The research team found that the cases involved were not caused from children playing in the neighborhood of the nuclear power plant. It does not result from seafood or locally raised vegetables. They, also, reject the claim that it is caused by a virus.

Further research is being done at other nuclear power plants in the UK, where there are about 100,000 people whose work exposes them to radioactivity. Afterwards, the results of research overseas will be looked at.

It is not only children who develop blood cancer. Miss Vivien Hope acquired it at age 21. Since that time she has suffered much pain, and has had growths on her spine, kidneys, and neck glands. After chemotherapy and bone marrow transplants, she spent a year in a wheelchair.

Her father worked for 32 years as a fitter in a nuclear power plant. Vivien's doctors say that her illness existed at the time of her conception.

Dr. B.V. Mendelow of the Medical School at Wits says that it is a well-known fact that radioactive radiation can result in blood cancer. In South Africa, however, research has not yet been done into that connection.

He says it is difficult to do such a study because a control group is needed for a long period of time. The migrant laborer system in South Africa makes it difficult to identify such a control group.

Dr. S. Hartley of the Red Cross in Cape Town specializes in child leukemia. However, not one of her patients' parents works at Koeberg [nuclear power plant], and she is not aware of any case of blood cancer in South Africa which is related to nuclear power plants.

The leukemia specialist at the Tygerberg hospital, Dr. G. Wessels, isn't aware of any related cases either. The Sellafield plant has been used for over 30 years already, while Koeberg became wholly functional only in July of 1985.

A spokesman for the Koeberg Alert action group, Mr. Mike Kantey, said that the specific "ionizing radiation," which affects peoples' reproductive glands and results in cell mutations, penetrates over a long period of time the walls of containers in which the radioactive material is stored.

Health problems similar to those experienced in the UK possible won't become reality in South Africa until the beginning of the next century.

Meanwhile, another nuclear power plant is being planned in South Africa. Although it was recently denied in Parliament that any decision has been made, there are rumors that a German company has already signed a construction contract. Even the land has already, reportedly been bought - in Namakwaland, 140 km south of Port Nolloth.

So, who knows? What is true, however, is this: The side effects still detract from the miracle of nuclear energy.

And until scientific ways have been found to safeguard humanity from those side effects with absolute, absolute security, the debate will continue . . .

#### **\* Church Role Urged in Drafting Constitution**

90AF0188A Cape Town DIE BURGER  
in Afrikaans 2 May 90 p 4

[Commentary by Religious Affairs Editor: "Churches 'Must Draft Guidelines for Constitution'"]

[Text] The churches in South Africa would neglect an extremely important responsibility if currently they do not pay attention to the drafting of minimum requirements for a new South African constitution in a declaration of Christian principles.

Thus reads the feature article in the newest edition of DIE KERKBODE, the official weekly of the Dutch Reformed Church [NG Church].

The feature article on a declaration of Christian principles follows the plea by Professor Johan Heyns, chairman of the General Synodal Commission (ASK) of the NG Church, in DIE KERKBODE, as well as in DIE BURGER, for church participation in a declaration of Christian principles for a new constitution.

Dr. Heyns told DIE BURGER on Monday that the churches must draft the minimum requirements, from a

religious-ethical viewpoint, for a new constitution for the country in a declaration of Christian principles.

In a column on the same topic, Dr. Heyns writes in this week's DIE KERKBODE that a declaration of Christian principles for Christians naturally must demonstrate something of a compromise character.

It will indeed have to contain basic principles. One such principle is the recognition of the supreme authority and guidance of the almighty God. Other basic principles are:

- An orderly organized community which functions harmoniously on the basis of justice and fairness for all;
- Recognition and protection of human value, equality, freedom, and rights;
- Freedom of religion and the right to public criticism;
- The right to free association and the right to, for example, form schools on the basis of one's own philosophy of life and Weltanschauung.

Dr. Heyns emphasized that the church cannot actively engage in politics. It cannot actively participate in the creation of a new constitutional system. But, on the other hand, the church cannot be uninvolved in the religious-ethical nature of such a constitution.

The church can encourage the political actors at the negotiation table to bring their Christian convictions into the political decision making process by drafting a declaration of Christian principles. In it the minimum requirements for a constitution from a religious-ethical perspective must be couched.

DIE KERKBODE writes in its feature article that, if Dr. Heyns' proposal of a declaration of Christian principles is accepted, it would prove what the Dutch Reformed Church has in any event proposed for every political model. The Dutch Reformed Church (in its policy document "Church and Society") has proposed that every political model must be tested on the biblical requirements of love, fairness, and human worth.

Dr. Heyns in reality only asks that the proposals for a new constitution be concretely measured against such biblical requirements, writes DIE KERKBODE.

## Madagascar

### \* Coup Attempt; MFM Members' Arrest Protested

90AF0224A Antananarivo MIDI MADAGASIKARA  
in French 16 May 90 p 4

[Text] Two female MFM/MFT [Militants for the Establishment of a Proletarian Regime/Militants for Bringing About the Revolution] activists were arrested about 2000 hours in the evening of 13 May, according to Germain Rakotonirainy, a member of that party political bureau. According to his explanations, they were arrested in their home by eight armed persons. Germain Rakotonirainy admits being worried, because the party does not know where these two women are being kept, despite his inquiries. "We have already made inquiries to the gendarmerie camp in Ankadilalana, the Ratsiman-drava camp, the Criminal Brigade in Anosy, and the Search Brigade, but our search has proved unfruitful. They were probably taken to Arivonimamo," he further added without conviction.

But why were these two activists arrested? According to Germain Rakotonirainy, he was told that "they were the source of the pamphlets that had been circulating in Anosy on Sunday 13 May," whereas "nothing was found when their home in Ambohitsoa was searched." To tell the truth, according to the MFM leader "it is the president of Firaisana II, who denounced the MFM as the author of these pamphlets. These two activists live close to his house. We intend to sue him for this groundless accusation."

In fact, Germain Rakotonirainy declared that the MFM had nothing to do with the coup at the radio station. The proof is that there were no MFM activists among the insurgents. Nonetheless, he believes that MFM activists, like the population, had the urge to come to Anosy to see what was happening. In short, Germain Rakotonirainy regrets that those two activists of his party were arrested and that, so far, their whereabouts is still unknown.

Thus, in addition to the 13 members of the "commando" who entered the radio station, there were other arrests made on that Sunday. We know that the investigation, which began on Sunday with the questioning of the "commando" members, is continuing. Now, the question is to find out if other people were arrested in addition to these two MFM activists.

## Mauritius

### \* Student Incites Protest Over Religious Beliefs

90AF0159A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 12  
May 90 p 4

[Article by Habib Mosaheb: "In Front of Bhujoharry High School Yesterday: Police Disperse Demonstration With Tear Gas; at Issue: Wearing the Islamic Veil in Class"; italicized passages published in Creole]

[Text] Members of the SSU (Special Support Unit) used tear gas to disperse a demonstration on Wellington Street yesterday afternoon. One demonstrator was arrested.

The demonstrators were protesting the Bhujoharry High School decision forbidding a pupil to wear the Islamic veil in class.

The demonstrators gathered opposite and in the area surrounding the high school to demand the reintegration of the pupil in question.

The police intervened after the demonstrators (about 700 persons) refused to disperse, an advanced graduate of the police force stated to LE MAURICIEN.

This version was, however, contested by some demonstrators. They assured LE MAURICIEN that members of the SSU intervened at just the moment "we had begun to disperse." They did, however, admit that the police had not authorized the demonstration. The use of tear gas was, moreover, severely condemned by residents of Wellington Street.

"The police used tear gas twice. It has affected the residents in the area. One of the containers landed near our house."

We remind the reader that early this week Bhujoharry High School had decided to refuse to authorize one of its pupils, currently in the lower sixth grade, to go on with her studies at this institution as long as she wears the Islamic veil in class.

The high school administration refused to comment on the affair.

### \* British Donate EMIT System To Fight Drugs

90AF0262B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 2  
Jun 90 p 5

[Text] On 1 June British Under Secretary of State for African Affairs Fairweather turned over to Prime Minister Jugnauth a sophisticated apparatus for the detection of drugs hidden inside the body, called the EMIT Detection System.

Fairweather recalled the merciless war waged by the international community, and particularly Great Britain and Mauritius, against drugs, the scourge of modern times.

He stated that the British Government had welcomed holding an international conference in London in April 1990 on the struggle against the drug traffic.

He emphasized that this is a problem that is taking on very disturbing dimensions. The EMIT Detection System has been used with a great deal of success in British and international airports.

Fairweather said that he was happy to note that Mauritius has succeeded in resolving the drug problem. However, he added that this involves a scourge that must be fought with vigilance and without let up.



Prime Minister Jugnauth expressed once again his determination in the fight against drugs, a problem that reportedly is now under control.

The equipment turned over by the British Government should help to fight against this scourge more effectively, at a time when the traffickers are using more and more sophisticated methods. In this connection, Mauritius, an island exposed to the drug traffic and that has a network of modern communications, is vulnerable.

We should note that customs officers have already completed a training course in London on the use of this apparatus.

The EMIT Detection System was symbolically turned over to Mewasingh, from the Department of Customs.

#### \* EPZ Growth During First Quarter of 1990

90AF0262A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
2 Jun 90 pp 1, 5

[Article by Leon Baya: "32 Companies Closed But Level of Employment Rises Once Again"]

[Text] The closure of 32 companies, the establishment of 17 others, a resumption of hiring, and exports in the order of 2 billion rupees. These are the most significant facts contained in the most recent issue of ECONOMIC INDICATORS concerning the operations of the free trade zone during the first quarter of 1990.

At the end of March 1990 the free zone had 548 companies established there, compared to 563 as of 31 December 1989. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, the 32 companies that went out of business dismissed 1,645 people, while 36 other companies reduced the number of their employees by 3,443. The total number of people who lost their jobs was 5,088. However, during the same period 17 new companies started up in business, creating 677 jobs. Furthermore, about 50 already existing companies created 5,516 jobs, bringing the number of new jobs to 6,193.

The Central Bureau of Statistics emphasized that the positive job trend (from 88,650 at the end of December 1989 to 89,775 at the end of March 1990) is due in part to an increase in the number of "out workers" [casual workers] (from 1,961 to 2,330). These workers process raw materials provided by the companies. In some cases these "out workers" are employed in other sectors of the economy and do "part-time work" for the companies in the free trade zone. In this case they cannot be considered full-time workers in the free trade zone.

It turns out from the latest figures on the free trade zone that the increase in employment during the period from March 1989 to March 1990 was very slight (an increase of 500 jobs). Furthermore, it has been noted that the knitted goods sector has suffered the most, whereas the other sectors of the economy have expanded.

Furthermore, the authorities estimate that the value of exports between January and March 1990 was about 2 billion rupees, compared to 1.8 billion rupees during the corresponding period of 1989. The free trade zone imported goods worth about 1.8 billion rupees, thus leaving a favorable trade balance of 200 million rupees. According to our estimates, it would seem that the net income from the free trade zone during the first quarter of 1990 was less than that for the same period of 1989.

#### \* Local Firm Awaits Arrival of Indian Workers

90AF0221A Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION  
in French 1 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The Balaclava Beach Resort Ltd. could be the first Mauritian company to be bringing foreign workers into the country. In fact, it is expecting a group of 25 Indian workers scheduled to arrive within a few days to work in Balaclava on a five-star hotel, the Hyatt Regency Mauritius.

Questioned by LE NOUVEAU MILITANT, the public relations officer [PRO] of the company asserted that all formalities have been completed for the arrival of these skilled workers. She declared: "They are skilled workers, more particularly, carpenters, bricklayers, and plumbers." These Indian workers were recruited by the consulting firm, Asha Consultancy of India.

According to the information gathered by LE NOUVEAU MILITANT, the arrival of these workers was somewhat delayed, for the Indian authorities wanted to have all the guarantees that the contracts were valid. We know that the Indian authorities are very stringent when it comes to sending Indian workers abroad, especially in Mauritius, after the Laxmanbhai case.

The PRO of the Balaclava Beach Resort Ltd. told us that all preparations had been made for housing these workers and they would receive wages in compliance with those prescribed by the legislation in force. She declared: "We have respected all the conditions imposed by the local authorities for bringing foreign workers into the country." These foreign workers will be housed in bungalows close to where they work.

This Mauritian firm has been working on the building of this five-star hotel since June of last year. The public relations officer said that "the work will be finished toward the end of the year," adding that the workers would return to their country as soon as their contract was terminated. She said: "We cannot afford the luxury of employing them for a long time because they cost us a lot of money."

Let us recall that all the Mauritian trade unions are unanimously opposed to bringing foreign workers into the country. Before coming to a decision on the subject, they are demanding a thorough study of the issue. Last Thursday, during a press conference given by the National Trade Union Council, Bidianand Jhurry

demanding once again an inquiry at each sector level. He declared: "We want a study in which all the trade unions will be consulted."

### Swaziland

#### Mozambican Soldiers Reportedly in Swaziland

MB2606171390 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 26 Jun 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Army officials in Swaziland are still interrogating three men in uniform who arrived in the country in mysterious circumstances on Saturday [23 June]. They apparently appeared in a helicopter and it's believed that they came from neighboring Mozambique. From Swaziland Norman Sowerby reports:

[Begin Sowerby recording] The helicopter landed in open country near Swaziland's Lomahasha border post with Mozambique in the northeast of the country. Army Commander Brigadier Fonono Dube said today that one of the men claimed to be a member of the Mozambican Armed Forces, but the brigadier was careful to describe the three only as soldiers.

Brig. Dube also said that the helicopter appeared to be a military aircraft, but inquiries are still being made with Mozambican authorities to establish if they are short a helicopter. The army commander said Mozambique's ambassador to Swaziland is being informed of developments.

The Swazi Foreign Affairs Ministry also confirmed the mysterious arrival of the helicopter but few details are being released about the incident. There is no official comment on reports that the three asked for asylum and said they wanted to go to the United States.

The Lomahasha area, where the helicopter landed, is regarded as very sensitive and just a few kilometers away, across the border in Mozambique rebels of the anti-Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] movement Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] are regularly reported to be active. [end recording]

#### Alleged Soldiers Seek Asylum

MB2606174690 Mbabane Television Service in English  
1700 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Three men believed to be members of the Mozambican Armed Forces have been arrested by the Mbutfo Swaziland Defense Force at Ka Shewula, in eastern Swaziland, for violating the country's airspace and immigration laws.

The trio, whose names have not yet been disclosed by the local force, were arrested after landing on Swazi territory in a Mozambican Armed Forces helicopter last Friday [22 June] afternoon. Their arrest followed a tip-off by a

patriotic member of the Ka Shewula community, who alerted our men at Maphiveni after seeing the aircraft at Ka Shewula.

Brigadier Fonono Dube, of the Umtatfo Swaziland Defense Force, told STBC [Swaziland Television Broadcasting Corporation] today that, although the men claimed they are here to seek political asylum, the army is interrogating them to establish if they had any sinister intentions for entering Swaziland. Brig. Dube said the pilot had already admitted he was a member of the Mozambican Air Force, and his aircraft was being held pending the outcome of the investigations, at the end of which he said the trio would be handed over to the Royal Swaziland Police.

The men were arrested a day after high level security talks between Swazi and Mozambican Government officials were held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at which Swaziland was represented by Minister for Foreign Affairs Senator Sir George Mamba and Mozambique by her Minister for Security, Mr. Mariano Matsinhe.

### Zambia

#### Riots Over Food Price Increases Reported

MB2606112790 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1100 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] The riots in Lusaka over the increase of the price of mealie meal entered the second day this morning with rioters looting shops and [words indistinct] the city center was sealed off by [words indistinct] police. Roads leading into the city were [words indistinct] outside the shops.

Meanwhile, in Kitwe police continued patrolling [word indistinct] township and surrounded the market where rioters yesterday ransacked stores and took away goods. A heavy police cordon has also been reported from Ndola where patrols were intensified in the city.

#### Lusaka Province Under Curfew

MB2606181990 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] The government has put Lusaka Province under curfew and has advised people who live in the area to be within doors from 1800 [1600 GMT] to 0600 [0400 GMT] the following day. A government spokesman said the curfew, which began at 1800 today, will remain in force until on Thursday, 28 June.

He said any person found out of doors after 1800 without special permission will be arrested and charged with an offense. The spokesman said arrangements will be made for certain persons engaged in official services to be outdoors during the period of the curfew.

### 10 Killed, 150 Injured

MB2706072690 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0700 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] The death toll in the food riots in Zambia has risen to 14. The riots have continued unabated for two days, and President Kenneth Kaunda has now imposed a nightly curfew in an attempt to bring the situation under control. Thousands of police and soldiers have been patrolling Lusaka fearing the riots may spread to the northern copper mining zone. Lusaka hospital staff say 14 people have died and 150 others have been injured.

### Over 500 Arrested

MB2706120190 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1100 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Zambian police have arrested more than 500 people during food price riots over the past two days which left 15 people dead and 190 injured. Most of the victims were hit by police and Army gunfire in the worst civil unrest in Zambian history. The situation is still tense in the capital, Lusaka, and there is a dusk-to-dawn curfew.

A police spokesman says the arrests were aimed at finding ringleaders among the thousands of people who rampaged through the city looting stores, burning flags, and chanting antigovernment slogans. Rioting had apparently also broken out in the central Copperbelt Province by late yesterday.

The rioting was sparked off by an increase in the price of Zambia's staple food, corn meal. The price was more than doubled as part of austerity measures aimed at reducing state subsidies and making the economy of one of Africa's poorest nations more commercially viable.

### Lusaka Violence Enters 3d Day

MB2706160090 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 27 Jun 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Antigovernment disturbances have been continuing in Zambia for a third day. It was sparked off by a huge increase in maize meal prices last week. Rioting and looting began in Lusaka on Monday [25 Jun] and spread to the Copperbelt town of Kitwe. There were reports of a score of deaths and many injuries. A 36-hour curfew has been imposed in Lusaka on the orders of the president but the city is still tense and sporadic trouble has continued. From Lusaka, John Mokhele reports:

[Begin Mokhele recording] Much of Lusaka was quiet today. The center of the city was by this morning still cordoned off by heavily armed troops. All major highways leading out of the city were at strategic points manned by army units who stopped the thin flow of traffic and ordered drivers to return home.

It was the first morning after the introduction of an 18-hour curfew in the Lusaka District. Evidently, it has caught many people unaware. At some petrol filling stations lucky enough to still be intact, drivers queued up in the hope to fill up, only to be told through the blaring megaphones of police patrol cars that they must observe the curfew even during the day. But, by late afternoon, I could still see from my window people taking leisurely strolls in the Long Acres neighborhood. The story, I was told earlier, was different in other parts of Lusaka.

At Marapodi and (Bawleni), (?masses) ganged up against police and there were reports from (Bawleni) of indiscriminate wild shooting by police. This morning, hospital sources gave the number of those killed as 20 and more than 100 seriously injured. There appears to be a serious problem at the main University Teaching Hospital, where most of the injured are admitted. The hospital is, quite obviously, overstretched. Not too far (?on) from the hospital, an estimated 500 people are being held in police custody. The authorities' lack of prison space has forced them to establish a makeshift prison in an open sports stadium, where those arrested spent two cold Zambian winter nights.

Meanwhile, the Copperbelt was reportedly calm today and Kitwe, particularly, was under control. Kabwe, 120 km north of Lusaka, had also briefly today threatened to erupt but police acted quickly to neutralize possible trouble. It was in Kafue, 45 km south of the capital, where some of the more serious disturbances occurred. A Preferential Trade Area truck carrying goods from South Africa, believed to be on their way to the international Ndola trade fair, was set ablaze by a mob. Two civilians were seriously injured and, after clashes with Kafue police, an estimated 53 people were arrested. [end recording]

### Police Continue 'Mop-Up Operation'

MB2706194390 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Police in Lusaka continued their mop-up operation of clearing residents off the streets, following the imposition of the 36-hour curfew in the capital.

Several residents volunteered their private motor vehicles to reinforce the (?government fleet) involved in making public address calls so that people keep away from the streets. By late this afternoon [word indistinct] had been removed from many of the city's streets.

Meanwhile, Lusaka Police have recovered goods worth thousands of kwacha, looted from state and private shops. Police are holding over 500 people in connection with the looting and rioting [word indistinct] increase in mealie meal prices in the past two days.

Officer Commander for Lusaka (Robson Maseko) today said nearly 20 people have been killed while over 60 people have been admitted to Lusaka Government Hospital [words indistinct].



### Party Leader Says 'Not To Panic'

MB2706194890 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
 1800 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Party Secretary General Grey Zulu has urged party leaders in Lusaka Province not to panic over the current disturbances in the capital.

(?Leading) the provincial party conference at (Chongwe) Youth Memorial Camp in Lusaka Rural yesterday, Comrade Zulu implored the party leadership to remain calm and ensure that peace was maintained in their respective areas.

Comrade Zulu said although the situation is tense in Lusaka, leaders should be in the forefront in ensuring that there was no more violence and damaged property, because such actions would (?only cause) economic problems. He advised leaders to avoid siding with those who are taking to destroying property, but to have courage and contain the situation.

### Kaunda Warns of 'Tough Action'

MB2706182790 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
 1800 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] The president has warned that the party and the forces of law and order will take tough action against all those found committing acts of (?treachery) against innocent people in [words indistinct]. Addressing the nation on both radio and television this evening, Comrade Kaunda said that the people committing these acts were being incited by people bent on disrupting the economic recovery program.

He said the reduction of surpluses of mealie meal [maize] and the subsequent increase in the prices is [words indistinct] the forces that generate economic growth and employment.

The president appealed to members of the public to cooperate with the security forces over the period of the curfew to ensure that no more property is lost.

### Riots Spread Beyond Lusaka

AB2706184590 Paris AFP in English 1811 GMT  
 27 Jun 90

[By Regine Jere]

[Excerpt] Lusaka, June 27 (AFP)—Violent riots sparked by food prices rises which erupted in the Zambian capital Lusaka this week spread Wednesday to Kabwe, 140 kilometres (90 miles) north of here, Kabwe Police Chief Elias Kaite confirmed. He said police shot dead three rioters in Kabwe. Over 20 other people are unofficially reported to have died in the riots in Lusaka, which were sparked by anger at a rise in the price of maize meal, the staple food.

In a report to the semi-official TIMES OF ZAMBIA newspaper, Mr. Kaite said trouble in Kabwe began at midday Wednesday when a group of youths looted a state-owned shop and were soon joined by many others.

The rowdy rioters later marched to Kabwe Milling Company, producers of maize-meal, to loot those premises. There, in trying to stop them, police opened fire on the rioters, instantly killing three of them.

"Three people were shot dead when they tried to loot Kabwe Milling Company, while another was shot and injured in the thigh," Mr. Kaite was quoted as saying. He also said a lot of damage to vehicles and buildings was done. He did not however say if anyone had been arrested, nor did he give any other casualty figures. Although the situation in Kabwe had been contained by police in the area, the town is still tense, he said.

In Lusaka, a 36-hour curfew imposed Tuesday seemed to be helping quell the unrest, and the city was quiet throughout Wednesday. Police have stopped firing their guns and people remained indoors all day in line with a curfew warning. But according to unconfirmed reports there was continuing unrest on the outskirts of Lusaka, and notably at the industrial town of Kafue, about 50 kilometres (30 miles) south of the capital. No official figure has been given on casualties or deaths yet, but hospital sources put it at over 20 in Lusaka alone.

President Kenneth Kaunda, who was meeting all day Wednesday with defence chiefs and members of the ruling party Central Committee, was expected to address the nation on radio and television Wednesday evening. But political observers said Mr. Kaunda could do little to help the situation, whatever he says now, as a lot of damage has already been done. "Everyone is anxious to hear what he will say and I just hope he will not say something which will provoke further the already existing terrible situation," said government worker Steve Sitwala.

In the Lusaka township of Chilenje, rioters on Tuesday completely destroyed President Kaunda's pre-independence house and burnt the Landrover he used during the struggle for his country's independence from British rule, in 1964. Both the house and the Landrover had been turned into national monuments symbolising his commitment during the independence struggle. Rioters tore down portraits of Mr. Kaunda and his family which hung in the house and destroyed everything else they could in the monument.

The situation was also said to be tense Wednesday in the Copperbelt towns of northern Zambia, where 15 people died in similar food riots in December 1986, but quick preventive police action in Kitwe town prevented rioting. [passage omitted]

### Kaunda Addresses Nation

AB2706202590 Paris AFP in English 1951 GMT  
 27 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Lusaka, June 27 (AFP)—President Kenneth Kaunda said late Wednesday that the bloody riots which swept Zambia this week were incited by people trying to overthrow the government. The riots, sparked by an

increase in the price of the country's staple food of maize meal, have claimed more than 20 lives in Lusaka and three in the town of Kabwe north of the capital. In a nationwide broadcast, the 66-year-old Zambian leader, who has ruled the country since independence in 1964, warned that such "criminal stampedes" by the rioters would not be tolerated. Mr. Kaunda charged that some people, whom he did not name but said he knew very well, were trying to disrupt the country's International Monetary Fund-monitored recovery programme and instigate "weak-minded people" to turn against his leadership.

"The restructuring of our economy is causing anxiety in the evil minds of enemies of the party and its government.

"They want to disrupt the economic programme of the party and they hope that they will take over and claim credit for the good outcome of the programme but they will fail," he said tersely.

Zambia had abandoned an IMF-sponsored economic programme in May 1987 as unacceptable. But over the last year the government has been following similar type measures such as freeing prices, removal of government subsidies on public consumer items and strict monetary supply control.

Describing the new measures "as working so well," the Zambian president called upon people to be calm and help security and defence personnel restore order. "The power-hungry people have always wished and prayed to the devil that the government fails in its efforts to restore the economy; we know who they are and we know they are going to fail," he said. "But every committed party member must defend the people and all Zambians must give maximum cooperation to law and order forces. We will triumph," he said.

Mr. Kaunda hinted that the 36-hour curfew imposed on Lusaka Tuesday night "if necessary" be extended to other affected areas. He said he would not tolerate continuation of the riots.

"Under no circumstances will these criminal stampedes be tolerated in Lusaka or anywhere in Zambia. The party and its government will be tough with anyone including children involved in destruction of property." [passage omitted]

#### Further on Kaunda Address

MB2806062790 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
0500 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] President Kaunda last night attributed the looting and rioting in Lusaka to power-hungry men who had always hoped, wished, and prayed that the party and its government will [words indistinct] economic recovery program. Addressing the nation on both radio and television, the president stressed that contrary to wishes, the economic recovery program was progressing well and was [words indistinct]. He said this was now causing anxiety in the evil minds of the individuals and enemies of the party, the government [words indistinct] to claim credit for the imminent economic emancipation [words

indistinct] the party and its government [words indistinct]. Dr. Kaunda reiterated that the country's economic recovery program that was coming to its final stage will continue and nothing will stop it until the cherished goals were achieved.

The president has meanwhile told the (?Kabwe) leadership at (?all sections) and individual families not to allow their children to be used in instigating disturbances which have seen shops looted and property destroyed in Lusaka for the past two days. Comrade Kaunda said in his address to the nation that children as small as seven years had been used by some criminal elements to stone people, cars, and shops. President Kaunda was [words indistinct] first reaction to the rioting over the new prices of maize meal in which as many as 20 people had so far died and several others were injured and property destroyed, said the instigators wanted to topple the leadership and seek credit for the success of the economic recovery program. He pointed out that the disturbances in Lusaka and anywhere in Zambia will not be condoned, adding that the [words indistinct] on the culprits.

From Kabwe (?come) reports that police yesterday afternoon shot dead three suspected robbers and injured two others at [words indistinct] market. Police opened fire after hundreds of people flocked into a milling company [words indistinct] and ransacked [words indistinct] bags of maize meal. Central Division Police Chief Elias Kaite and the Kabwe General Hospital Superintendent Dr. Wadson Phiri confirmed the death of the three men. Comrade Kaite said six people were arrested when [words indistinct] while one student was injured in the disturbance.

In the town center, looters got into shops and got away with goods worth thousands of kwacha. Comrade Kaite who said the situation was tense and has pledged that everything possible was being done to control the situation.

Following a review of the situation in Lusaka, the government has [words indistinct] curfew with effect from 0600 this morning. A statement said however [words indistinct] 0600 everyday until further notice.

#### Zimbabwe

##### \* Mugabe Speech Opening Parliament Session

34000728A Harare THE HERALD in English  
3 May 90 p 2

[Full text of the speech by President Mugabe at the opening of the First Session of the Third Parliament of Zimbabwe yesterday]

[Excerpts] The last 10 years have, despite many obstacles and difficulties, been years of achievement and progress for our people. We have in these years truly secured our hard-won independence, achieved national unity, transformed the social and economic environment of our country and laid a firm foundation for further people-orientated all-round progress within the context of national unity, harmony and peace.

It has not all been plain sailing but from our 10 years as a sovereign State we have learned many important lessons and are well justified to look to the future with confidence and optimism.

The Constitution will be amended to provide for the creation of an additional office of Vice-President. Other amendments to the Constitution will include the removal of the restrictive provisions under Chapter III as they relate to property rights and, in particular, those concerning land. Necessary amendments will be introduced to enable the Government to distribute land more equitably and speedily than has been possible hitherto. A further constitutional amendment will deal with the status and role of various commissions.

In the area of defence, my Government will in this session ask Parliament to effect the constitutional amendments which are necessary for the introduction of a single command for our defence forces in order to enhance their efficiency, command and control.

Furthermore, the functions of the Defence Forces Service Commission will be nationalised so that it can relate more realistically to the Ministry of Defence and the defence forces themselves.

Our military presence in Mozambique is based upon a firm appreciation of our national interests and the moral duty to assist a friendly neighbour. It is also pertinent to reiterate that our forces operate in Mozambique at the invitation of that country's legitimate government. They certainly will not stay or remain in that country one day longer than is absolutely necessary.

In the meantime all our people feel nothing but a sense of pride and gratitude for the manner in which our defence forces have carried out their most difficult and complex assignment in Mozambique and along our common border with that country. We thank and congratulate the defence forces for their dedication, loyalty and commitment.

Our security forces will continue to monitor and contain any threats to Zimbabwe's security and territorial integrity. While security forces will be on the frontline of the defence of the country, the Government expects the cooperation of the whole population in identifying any hostile elements in order to contain any threat before it manifests itself in acts of subversion. [passage omitted]

Concerning the legislature, the Third Parliament is seeing the introduction of a Unicameral Parliament in keeping with our socio-economic and political goals. Under a new system of departmental committees, Government ministries will be divided into groups and each group will be accountable to a departmental committee of Parliament. The departmental committees will inquire into and report upon the activities and estimates of expenditure of ministries, departments of Government and parastatals. [passage omitted]

The First Five-Year National Development Plan ends this year. Preparations of the Second Five-Year Plan are

already under way, and when completed, the plan will be published during this session and will include a concise regional development policy.

The Government has now stepped up its efforts to increase investment, especially in the productive sectors. In addition to the protection of investment embedded in our Constitution, the Government will enter into multi-lateral and bilateral investment agreements with those countries whose nationals are willing to invest in Zimbabwe. These agreements should go a long way towards attracting investment into Zimbabwe. In addition, the 1989 Investment Register, which is nearing completion, will be published during this session.

In order to improve the environment for the forthcoming trade liberalisation programme, a number of amendments will be made to the Customs and Excise Act and these will be tabled during this session.

The Government will also examine the possibility of establishing a venture capita company to cater primarily for small-scale investors. The company will be designed in such a way that investors in growth points will have easy access to loans offered by the company.

In the area of international economic relations, my Government will intensify efforts for greater regional cooperation and integration in the SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] and PTA [Preferential Trade Area: Eastern Southern Africa] sub-regional groupings as this will form a reliable base for the development of the economies of the region. However, my Government will continue to promote bilateral economic relations with friendly countries. In this connection, a number of trade agreements and additional agreements on double taxation between Zimbabwe and several friendly countries will be tabled in Parliament during this session for ratification. [passage omitted]

In the area of industry and commerce, the pace of Zisco [Zimbabwe Steel Co.]'s rehabilitation programme will be accelerated. The first phase of the coke oven rebuild project will be completed. A new iron ore deposit will be developed at Ripple Creek to provide for a new sinter plant that will feed the blast furnaces. The development of a flat steel product project will be pursued with vigour in order to reduce the country's dependence on imported plate and sheet steel.

The transport industry will continue to get the necessary support from the Government, particularly in respect of the provision of foreign currency for the importation of vehicle kits and spares to meet national requirements and fully support efforts to manufacture domestically, components and parts here in Zimbabwe through joint venture enterprises established between local and foreign capital.

During this session, the Industrial Development Corporation [IDC] will commission a sheet glass factory thus easing the shortage of building materials in this field. Cement plants will also be established in various parts of the country and a major expansion project by Portland Holdings will be



completed. My Government will increase the brick-making capacity of both existing and new companies to meet increasing local and export demand.

Production capacity for quality car and truck tyres will be substantially increased through new investments and work will commence on a chemical pulp and paper project sponsored by the IDC and its partners. [passage omitted]

A national export promotion organisation will be formed as a partnership between the State and the private sector. This body will maintain the export promotion momentum which has been achieved so far by the Zimbabwe Export Promotion Programme currently being sponsored by the Commission of the European Communities.

The signing of the fourth ACP-EEC [African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries-European Economic Community] Convention (Lome IV) will enable Zimbabwe to increase its exports of beef further and benefit from progressive reduction or abolition of customs duties on horticultural and other products.

The mining sector continues to experience an upsurge in mineral exploration and production and my Government will promote further and accelerate the present level of activity in order to fully exploit our country's mineral resources.

A major mining project to produce platinum group metals in the Chegutu geological complex at Selous will be commissioned. This project represents a major investment to the country. The further development and production of these metals will again be undertaken in two other similar projects which are presently in the pre-feasibility stage.

During the second half of this year, a new coal mine will be commissioned at Sengwa, in a partnership between my Government and a private company. In recognition of the economic significance of this undertaking, my Government has already allocated resources for the construction of a full-width tarmac road between Gokwe and Siabuwa.

Following the signing of the agreement between the Government and the Mobil Corporation of America, the search for petroleum and gas in the Zambezi Valley will commence. My Government will closely monitor the gathering by the company of geological and geophysical data and the environmental effects of the operation.

In the energy sector, emphasis on power generation will be hydro-based in order to minimise generation costs on electricity.

The medium-sized dam programme will continue to be implemented in order to provide water for domestic, livestock and irrigation purposes, especially to communal areas. The construction of six medium-sized dams in Masvingo Province is due to start later this year.

It is further hoped to start the Shobi Dam on the lower Umzingwane River and the Longlands Dam which will further boost the water supply to Marondera.

In the areas of livestock production, it has been decided that to ensure the rebuilding of our national herd as well as regain our European export markets, legislation will be introduced to control illegal cattle movements and other forms of indiscipline in this area. In this regard, a Control of Animals (Trespasses) Bill and an amendment to the Animal Health Act which will raise existing penalties to levels that will have a deterrent effect will be introduced in Parliament during this session. [passage omitted]

My Government is conscious that efficient transport systems are essential in promoting the socio-economic development of the country. Regarding the provision of transport to rural areas, efforts are already under way to alleviate shortages, initially by de-regulating all trucks of gross mass up to 10 tonnes operating in one province. A Road Motor Transportation Bill for this purpose will be introduced during this session.

At present, 42 mini-buses and 109 DAF buses have been ordered and the Government will ensure that they are assembled and put on the roads immediately. Efforts are also being made to augment the rural bus fleet as a matter of utmost urgency. Similarly, the Government has decided as an emergency measure to commit a significant amount of foreign currency for the importation of heavy to light commercial vehicles, both in kit and completely built-up forms, with a view to improving the nation's road haulage fleet. My Government will undertake the detailed engineering design for the construction of a rapid rail commuter system to carry commuters from Chitungwiza and the high-density suburbs of Harare.

My Government will intensify its road and bridge construction programme to enhance access into rural areas; while at the same time maintaining the already complete national network in a reasonable state of repair.

Work is in progress in regard to the improvement of the operations of the National Railways of Zimbabwe. As honourable members are aware, necessary arrangements have been finalised to procure 30 new diesel locomotives for the National Railways of Zimbabwe. In the meantime, strenuous efforts have gone into the rehabilitation of the existing locomotive fleet and the associated rolling stock. Much of this work and that relating to the rationalisation of the management structures, staffing and operations of the National Railways of Zimbabwe generally, have been undertaken by, or in response to the initiatives of, the Emergency Task Force on the National Railways of Zimbabwe, under the chairmanship of Vice-President Cde Simon Muzenda, which I established last year for the purpose of identifying factors impeding the efficient operation of our railway system and working out and implementing necessary solutions.

An additional B767-200 ER aircraft will be acquired during the 1990/91 financial year for Air Zimbabwe. The

complete modernisation of the airline's fleet will enhance its competitiveness on the international market.

The shortage of decent, affordable and durable housing in both rural and urban areas continues to be of great concern to the Government. It is intended to implement over 49 new housing projects in rural areas with a total of 8,551 units during the 1990/91 financial year. These houses are planned for resettlement areas and planned villages. In commercial farming areas, farmers will continue to be urged to provide decent accommodation for their employees. [passage omitted]

My Government will continue to decentralise its information services to make them available to as many people as possible in the rural areas.

Efforts will be made to extend TV 2 to Bulawayo. The transmitter network will be extended to include Chiredzi and the installation of the transmitter at Kenmaur will be completed to cater for the four radio stations. Television services to Mount Darwin and Gokwe will be introduced and television transmission from Nyanga, Gwanda and Masvingo stations will be improved. A new mast and transmitters will be installed at Victoria Falls for the four radio stations.

The expansion and modernisation of the existing telephone network in both the urban and rural areas and the improvement of its efficiency remain a priority of my Government. To improve inter-regional and international communication, the capacity of the Gweru International Switching Centre will be enhanced and a second antenna will be installed at the Mazowe Earth Station to cater for traffic from Asia and the Far East. Existing post office buildings will be extended or replaced to meet increased demand and new post offices will be built at growth points in the rural areas. [passage omitted]

The budget and estimates of expenditure for the fiscal year 1990/91 and related legislation will be presented to you for your approval.

I commend these matters to your consideration and now declare this, the First Session of the Third Parliament of Zimbabwe, to be duly open.

#### \* Regional Electric Power Generation Issues

34000729C Harare THE HERALD in English  
27 Apr 90 p 8

[Commentary]

[Text] It sounds ridiculous that Zimbabwe's policy of self-sufficiency in electrical generation should rankle other SADCC [South African Development Coordination Conference] countries to the extent that it was a subject of discussion at a Harare meeting of the regional body's energy sector electricity sub-committee.

An expert on the subject, Mr Viera Lopes, told the meeting that SADCC's projects to boost generation of

electricity had failed because some countries chose to go it alone instead of co-operating with the rest.

Obviously the joint development of the Batoka Gorge by Zambia and Zimbabwe does not qualify as regional co-operation. It is a mere joint venture, it is argued.

So far SADCC has a surplus generating capacity. Individual countries may not have enough. Zimbabwe still imports power from Zambia and Beitbridge is still connected to the South African grid.

To our east, however, lies the largest source of electrical energy, the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric station in Mozambique. Such is its potential that its output, still not fully developed, is equivalent to the output of all our five power plants put together. It is highly unlikely that Cabora Bassa supplies would be interrupted once banditry ceased in that country.

It could easily be doubled in size and it will be many decades, if ever, that Mozambique will ever require that amount of power.

But Zimbabwean discontent on relying on others is understandable. We had a difficult time last year after the Kafue power was interrupted. Moreover there is a genuine suspicion that we pay for imported power at almost the same rates we would have to pay to service the loans for our own power stations should we accelerate the development programme. More importantly the power stations would be ours if we did that.

What the meeting in Harare forgot was that regional co-operation must be all-encompassing. How about charging us in UAPTA [Preferential Trade Area Units of Account] instead of U.S. dollars? As a more industrialised state than either Zambia or Mozambique the payments could be recouped through inter-regional trade.

Needless to say this would have the effect of boosting trade among us. The two countries would then benefit by using the product of major investments they cannot use fully themselves, helping to offset the costs.

Admittedly the schemes were built with foreign loans. It would only be fair that part of Zimbabwe's payment be made in foreign currency.

In any case there is a need to have grids interconnected even if there is no net export or import of power. This would make it easier for a country to import easily if one of its stations goes off the grid. Since peak demands vary from country to country savings can be made in such an arrangement.

The issue of SADCC power is too complex to be handled in isolation of regional economic co-operation. It, therefore, has to be addressed in such a context.

**\* Free Collective Bargaining Rules Explained**

34000729B Harare THE HERALD in English  
5 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Excerpt] Pay increases this year will be set through free collective bargaining with a minimum rise of 10 percent and Government vetting of results to guard against inflation, the Government ruled yesterday.

There is no maximum set for permitted increases, as has been the case in the past, and no setting of sliding scales. All increases will be effective from 1 July this year and all parties have been urged to be reasonable. Agreements should include conditions of service as well as pay.

Civil servants, parastatal workers and staff of local authorities will also be part of the bargaining process with their private sector colleagues.

At a Press conference yesterday, the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and social Welfare, Cde John Nkomo, outlined conditions of free collective bargaining in this year's review of salaries and wages. The Government would actively implement and uphold the principle of free collective bargaining introduced within limits last year.

In those industries or sectors where the necessary negotiating machinery did not exist, the Wages and Salaries Advisory Board in his ministry would "by direction of the minister recommend appropriate levels of wage and salary increases."

Where a compromise has not been reached by 1 July, negotiations can drag beyond that date, but payments would be backdated to 1 July.

The Government had also decided that parastatals would negotiate with their unions through their employment boards and employment councils.

In the case of local authorities, the employment councils and boards that were in existence before the introduction of the Urban Council Act of 1986 and the Rural District Council Act of 1989, would be resuscitated for collective bargaining.

The Public Service Commission, as the employer, has been entrusted with the responsibility of negotiating with the relevant representatives of public servants on conditions of employment, this including teachers.

The Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare could grant exemptions from increases to organisations and employers that proved they faced severe financial and economic problems.

The parameters were set after an analysis of the performance of the various sectors of the economy during the previous year, plus submissions by the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, analyses of increase in consumer and basic agricultural commodities, recommendations by the Wages and Salaries Advisory Board.

"Available statistical data currently show that 1989 registered moderate overall growth of the economy. Real Gross Domestic Product is expected to have grown by 5.6 percent in 1989.

"The good agricultural season propelled the observed growth in the economy and in particular the improvement in the manufacturing sector performance and its high contribution to gross domestic product. 1990 seems poised for yet another positive trend in the performance of the economy.

**Promotion**

"It is hoped that Government's investment promotion effort will attract further investment and activate re-investment by companies already established in the country. This will not only benefit industrial expansion but also lead to growth in output and employment opportunities," Cde Nkomo said.

Last year the Government told all sectors of the economy to negotiate pay increases of between 5 and 16 percent on a sliding scale with effect from 1 July. In all, 42 employment boards and 18 employment councils were involved in the collective bargaining exercise, which resulted in increases of between 9 and 13 percent.

However, the Government determined the percentage increases for domestic and agricultural workers (who received the 16 percent maximum) as employment councils and boards do not exist in these areas.

The 1989 collective bargaining had shown that two months for negotiations was inadequate, Cde Nkomo said.

"This resulted in the negotiating parties concentrating only on wages and salaries, leaving out other conditions of service which are an integral part of meaningful collective bargaining agreements." Also the late announcement of consumer prices on essential commodities caused problems where parties had concluded their agreements.

"However, the whole exercise confirms that, given the right environment, atmosphere and circumstances, the parties are able to bargain meaningfully." [passage omitted]

**\* National Service Still Under Consideration**

34000729D Harare THE HERALD in English  
11 May 90 p 2

[Text] National service is now being considered by the Committee of National Services and the Cabinet will, after further review, table it before Parliament for legislation, the Senior Minister for Political Affairs, Cde Didymus Mutasa, said yesterday.

Cde Mutasa said the proposed national service was still on the cards and "very much alive." That the Government had found it necessary to create the Ministry of State for Political Affairs (National Services) meant that it was considering implementing the programme.



As soon as the Committee of National Services finished considering the issue and the Government approved, the issue would be put before Parliament for legislation, he said. "Once it is clear how it can be done, we will move fast to implement the service sometime this year, possible sooner."

While there had always been legislation requiring that all able-bodied people should register for national service, there was still a need for further legislation to suit the present requirements of an independent Zimbabwe. Cde Mutasa said that while the service was desirable, it should not be seen as purely military.

The programme was not really part of the national service in the military sense but an essential requirement in which people registered and they could be mobilised during national emergencies, he said. Such services included natural disasters or fire fighting.

The national service programme was first announced in November last year by the then Minister of State for Political Affairs, Cde Ernest Kadungure. Under the service all Zimbabweans between the ages of 18 and 30 were required to register and submit their information.

According to the then minister, the broad aims of the service were for all able-bodied Zimbabweans to contribute to the defence and security of the country, the growth of its economy and to instill a sense of patriotism among the youth through political and cultural education.

However, the programme came under attack from several quarters of the public. Some people said it was beyond the country's organisational and financial capabilities. Yet others felt that it would be used by frustrated and unemployed youths to gain training to enable them to rob and ambush people.

#### \* Soviet Tractors Imported in Joint Venture

34000729E Harare THE HERALD-BUSINESS  
HERALD in English 10 May 90 p 1

[Text] In a new trade venture between Minsk Manufacturers of the Soviet Union and Blackwood Hodge Zimbabwe, 13 Belarus tractors have arrived in Harare.

The importation of these tractors is a direct result of the Soviet and Zimbabwe Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

The tractors, competitively priced at \$45,000 each, are in bonded warehouses at Blackwood Hodge awaiting sale to customers with the necessary foreign currency.

At the handover ceremony, this week, managing director of Blackwood Hodge Mr Mike Harris said the 13 tractors proved successful on demonstration and were the forerunner of many more to come. Strong enquiries have already been received from Zambia.

#### \* Cable Company To Push SADCC Marketing

34000730C Harare THE HERALD-BUSINESS  
HERALD in English 26 Apr 90 p 18

[Text] There were some difficult times in the first 10 years of independence for Cafca, but the company is now looking forward eagerly to the next decade.

The leader in the manufacture of electrical cable in the SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] region, the company enjoyed another record-breaking year in 1989 with export sales of over \$10 million.

The most significant fact in the 1989 sales results is the swing from traditional markets to new customers in the SADCC area. In 1988 80 percent of Cafca's exports were to South Africa. Last year only 50 percent of the sales are to that market with the increase represented mainly by substantial orders from Botswana.

A significant breakthrough was the signing of a contract with Botswana Power Corporation under which the company will supply all cable products for that country's power authority.

The Sua Pan Soda Ash project costing \$900 million is expected to result in further increases in Cafca sales.

"We are confident that this huge project will result in subsequent orders for our product," says sales manager John Mukaro. "When the project is under way next year, we expect to be supplying a considerable amount of specialised cable products."

The company's success in the export field has been achieved in spite of huge domestic demand for cable products. According to John Mukaro, the company faced difficulties supplying the domestic market at the same time as meeting its export commitment.

"To meet the demand both now and in the future we are making a major expansion of our manufacturing capability. We will invest \$3 million to increase the capacity of our continuous casting machine from 4,000 tonnes per annum to 6,000 tonnes by building an extra furnace. We have also finalised plans to purchase three new machines at a cost of \$5 million."

The addition of a fine wire drawing machine, bunching machine and extruder will allow the company to manufacture instrumentation and data cables as well as low-smoke low-fume cable with enhanced insulating quality.

"It is essential for us to undertake this expansion because we are now looking forward to even further increases in our export trade with big sales to the copper mines in Zaire."

The break into Zaire is a major step which has won a contract in a Francophone country which has no traditional business ties with Zimbabwe.

It is expected that the Zaire orders will increase the company's sales by \$6 million each year.

**\* Chegutu Platinum Project in Second Phase**

34000730D Harare *THE HERALD* in English  
27 Apr 90 p 3

[Text] The first stage of the Chegutu platinum mining project has been completed and the second phase is in the process of being implemented, a company spokesman has said.

The joint venture involves Rio Tinto Zimbabwe, Valley Exploration and Mining Company—a subsidiary of Anglo American Corporation Zimbabwe, and British-based Plateau Mining plc.

According to the Chamber of Mines Journal, Plateau Mining entered into an agreement with the local companies last year in May and the deal became effective in August the same year.

The mining area covers 20,000 hectares containing chromium, nickel, copper and other minerals. Drilling and exploration tests to examine the feasibility of establishing a large-scale platinum and nickel mine had already been carried out.

Under the agreement, the UK-based partner would earn a 24 percent interest in the joint venture after it invested \$5 million in the project. The company expects to complete investigation within five years and investment by the middle of 1992.

The project had been split into three stages, of which the first had been completed at a cost of about \$400,000. The phase consisted of a pre-feasibility study analysing available geological and engineering data.

The second stage involved the establishment of a local company and the exploration of selected areas by diamond drilling to establish and confirm further proven and probable ore reserves in order to sustain the planned mine output for 20 years. Phase two was scheduled to be completed within 18 months and would cost Plateau about \$3.7 million.

A full feasibility study would include the rehabilitation of the existing trial mine in the Chegutu area. This stage would account for the balance of Plateau's investment of \$5 million.

## Liberia

### Armed Man Tries To Disrupt Peace March

AB2706171690 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
2030 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Excerpt] The peace march (?today) drew more than 13,000 people. This is the second time in two weeks that the Inter-Faith Mediating Committee, which has been mediating the Sierra Leone peace talks between government and the Patriotic Front, has held such a march. The marchers (?in red), carried banners, such as: Do not kill innocent people; We want peace and life is not [word indistinct]; among others. But, as the crowd was gathering at the [word indistinct] compound before the peace march started, a well-armed man was trying to get into the crowd. ELWA news was there and talked to some eyewitnesses on what transpired.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified eyewitness] A man came, dressed up in [word indistinct] gown, well armed, was trying to find his way out in the compound. Well, his intention was not known. But, as he was dressed up, we felt that he was in the position of entering there to create some sort of incident that would have [word indistinct] some unforeseeable circumstances, and, we [word indistinct]. Well, we were able to get at him and quickly he was picked up by the police. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Thousands Flee Gunfire; No Casualties Reported

AB2706154790 Paris AFP in English 1524 GMT  
27 Jun 90

[By James Dorbor]

[Excerpt] Monrovia, June 27 (AFP)—Liberian soldiers opened fire here Wednesday to break up a mass rally calling for the resignation of President Samuel Doe, who faces a rebel army within 14 miles (22 kilometres) of the capital. Thousands of people fled and shops and supermarkets hastily shut as troops fired for more than an hour, some using heavy weapons, but much of the shooting was into the air. Government buildings also closed their doors.

There were no immediate reports of casualties. Reckless drivers were among those trying to escape the melee, while others sought refuge as best they could in offices and stores. It was the first time troops had used their weapons at a demonstration here since the National Patriotic Front (NPFL) rebels, led by former civil servant Charles Taylor, launched a bid to oust Mr. Doe in December.

Their ranks swelled by Gio and Mano people from northeastern Liberia, the insurgents last week took Careysburg, the last major town on their road to Monrovia. At the weekend, they took Fendell University, just 14 miles away, according to a local resident who managed to escape. On Monday, NPFL delegates failed to show up for peace talks in Freetown, capital of neighbouring Sierra Leone.

Wednesday's demonstration, staged by the Committee for Democracy in Liberia, followed a march Tuesday organized by the Liberian Council of Churches, which drew about 20,000 people demanding an end to the civil war. The rally started about a hundred yards (meters) from the presidential residence, where armed soldiers had set up roadblocks. "Doe Must Resign!" read the banners and placards of the marchers.

Organizers said they had planned to hand in a statement at the Capitol, seat of parliament, demanding that Mr. Doe stand down and an interim government be formed. Similar calls were made by opposition parties earlier this week, while NPLF spokesman Tom Woewiyu said Monday in Ivory Coast that until Mr. Doe offered to resign there was nothing to discuss.

Troops broke up the rally near the Barclay Military Training Centre on United Nations Drive, where the first shot was heard. Sporadic gunfire later spread throughout the city and armed men stopped marchers going to the U.S. Embassy. In its midday news, national radio said nothing about the shooting, just as it had failed to mention Tuesday's peace march. [passage omitted]

### Acting Information Minister on Shooting

AB2706173290 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] This morning there was another peace march in the Liberian capital, Monrovia. Two previous marches called to try and get talks resumed between the government and Charles Taylor's rebels, who are poised to attack Monrovia, passed off without too much trouble. But today's, organized by community groups, students, and unions was calling for the resignation of President Doe. Some 5,000 people took part and they ran into confrontation with the security forces, and there was a lot of shooting. While the gunfire was continuing this morning, John Bomoh of the Liberian DAILY OBSERVER told Fergus Nicoll what was going on:

[Begin recording] [Bomoh] We were in the street trying to follow up the march. But soldiers, heavily armed with automatic machine guns, rushed in the streets and began to fire in the air; and the firing went on for the longest time. People had to run for their lives. They were running into cars and tumbling over each other, forcing their way into other people's residences.

[Nicoll] What has been the public reaction to the breaking up of this march? Is it anger, or are they just being concerned with preserving their lives, as you say?

[Bomoh] Well the public reaction is: I have a group of women saying but why did they authorize, I mean order the soldiers to shoot? Anybody could get killed. They should have used the riot police to fire tear gas at the group to disperse them. As I am talking to you now, I think you can hear, if you can listen keenly you will hear some firing in the background. It is still going on.



[Nicoll] But, what is that shooting? I can hear the shots, yes.

[Bomoh] Those are the soldiers firing.

[Nicoll] Who are they firing at?

[Bomoh] They are shooting in the air. [end recording]

John Bomoh on the line from Monrovia. That interview was recorded this morning while the gunfire was still going on. Since then, it seems that people in Monrovia have deserted their offices to stay out of the firing line. Just a few minutes ago, Robin White talked to Liberia's acting information minister, Moses Washington, and asked him what was going on now.

[Begin recording] [Washington] It is as if the demonstrators have all gone home, and the shooting, which caused the people to [word indistinct] in their homes and other places, has come to a complete standstill. There is no more shooting in the city.

[White] Have people been killed today?

[Washington] No. Our second contact with the minister of national defense has proven that no one was killed. We have, however, appealed to the citizens—if anyone was killed during the incident they must report it to the Ministry of Information, and we will be able to feed the public with that information.

[White] I gather you have been having difficulty getting the military off the street.

[Washington] Well, the chief of staff put together a very organized task force under the umbrella of the Military Police, and they have done quite a good job. According to the latest conversation I had with the chief of staff, he said that most of those who were involved have been collected and put in certain places.

[White] Would you admit that the military overreacted today, that some people in the military overreacted?

[Washington] Well, Robin, call it as you may, but I think most of the soldiers here have been waiting for the arrival of the rebels and, perhaps, they thought when they heard the shouts that the rebels had entered the city. So, admittedly, I can say that they may have overreacted, and as soon as that was realized by the Military Command the situation was quickly brought under control.

[White] But as I understand it practically everybody in Monrovia was terrified and ran off home.

[Washington] Well, exactly so. That is it. That was what happened. You see, what happened is that people are afraid of guns, and wherever they hear gunshots, everyone takes cover.

[White] But you claim that everything is quiet now.

[Washington] Yes, I will tell you that everything is quiet, the city is very quiet, and the streets are deserted; there are no cars running, except one or two military personnel

who have been detailed and assigned in every area to ensure that no one is molested. [end recording]

### Chief of Staff Explains Shooting

AB2706180290 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense has given clarification on the sporadic shooting which took place in Monrovia today. Army Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Henry Dubar said in a press briefing that the shooting occurred when some soldiers, posted at certain points of the city for security reasons, mistook the execution of Private James Gear early this morning as an advance on the Barclay Training Center, the BTC. He said a soldier, posted at a checking point of the BTC, gave a series of warning shots following the execution of the private, adding that other soldiers nearby quickly responded to these warning shots, which then spread with other soldiers also taking part.

The chief of staff also disclosed that a group of demonstrators carrying bayonets, tried to force their way into BTC and watch the execution but was quickly dispersed and refused permission into the BTC. He said during the whole process, there was no report of any wounding or shots adding that soldiers were specifically ordered not to shoot at peaceful demonstrators.

Meanwhile the minister of national defense, General Boimah Barclay, and the army chief of staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia have created a special task force, comprising of Military Police under the command of senior military officers, to clear the streets of Monrovia and its environs of soldiers who might want to take advantage of the situation to harass peaceful citizens. They disclosed that the situation is well under control and repeated earlier calls that any soldiers caught in any (?molestation) acts will be dealt with according to law.

### Government Still Committed to Peaceful Solution

AB2706182990 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] The Government of Liberia says it remains committed to the peaceful and timely resolution of the current armed crisis in the country. A dispatch from Freetown, Sierra Leone, is quoted by the Liberia the LIBERIA NEWS AGENCY as saying government's commitment was given recently by the chairman of the Liberian Government delegation to the peace talks in that country, Senator Tambakai Jangaba, during a meeting with Interfaith Committee. According to this dispatch, Chairman Jangaba said government attaches seriousness to the peace talks and expressed the delegation's concern that the National Patriotic Front of Liberia has not returned to Freetown for the resumption of talks leading to the solution of the prevailing crisis. Senator Jangaba then assured the Interfaith Mediation Committee that the Liberian Government was committed to cooperate with its peace initiatives.

Responding the chairman of the Interfaith Mediation Committee, Reverend Levee Moulton, informed the Liberian Government delegation of the committee's mission to Tapeta via Ivory Coast last Sunday [24 June] where they held discussions with the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, Charles Taylor. He said the mediation committee will shortly issue a formal statement on the status of the peace talks.

Meanwhile, commenting on the mass demonstration for peace by thousands of citizens in Monrovia, Senator Jangaba said the demonstrators call for peace is in line with the Liberian Government's commitment to a peaceful settlement of the crisis rather than a military solution. He commented also that anything otherwise will only lead to the destruction of more lives and property and retard the growth and progress of the nation for decades to come.

#### **ELWA Reports Troops Disperse Demonstrators**

*AB2706185990 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English  
1710 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Government troops today fired over the heads of marchers calling for the resignation of President Samuel Kanyon Doe. Eyewitnesses said the troops began shooting to disperse about 15,000 marchers as the marchers attempted marching to the Capitol building. There has been no report of death but reports say many people were injured in the panic that followed. Random shooting went on for several hours as soldiers (?were given) orders from the Military Police to cease fire. Some firings were heard from the suburbs where diplomatic missions are located. The demonstration was the second in two days and came at a time of growing pressure calling for President Doe's resignation.

### **Senegal**

#### **\* FLAM: Black-Bedouin Conflict Needs Solution**

*90AF0237A Dakar XAREBI-LA LUTTE in French  
Apr/May 90 p 6*

[Text] With the approach of the next summit of the OAU [Organization of African Unity], African diplomacy, particularly subregional diplomacy, seems to be becoming fairly active again in the conflict between Senegal and Mauritania.

However, black Mauritians are worried. They are afraid that a settlement may be reached at their expense.

The African Liberation Forces of Mauritania are not concealing their thoughts on this problem. They expressed their opinion in the following statement, dated 20 February 1990: "Seeking a negotiated solution to the dispute between Mauritania and Senegal has remained a constant concern since the eruption of the dispute in April 1989.

The African Liberation Forces of Mauritania (FLAM), aware of the grave threat of this conflict to subregional peace and attached to the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes between states, appreciate and welcome all efforts in this direction.

However, at a time when initiatives are being undertaken that are of decisive importance for the future of the Negro-Mauritanian community—which is courageously struggling against the intrinsically racist, tribalist, and slavist white system—it is the duty of the FLAM to enlighten the Mauritanian nation and the international community with regard to the following. In reality, there are two dimensions to the conflict that opposes Mauritania and Senegal and is the subject of negotiation. The more obvious dimension is the one that opposes the two states. The other, hidden dimension is deeper, more complex, and specific to Mauritania.

Owing to the possible grave consequences of the first dimension (Mauritania-Senegal) at the level of the two countries and the subregion, it calls for the necessity and urgency of a solution in the interests of the people and of peace.

But the urgency of this necessity should in no case provide an opportunity to evade the second dimension, without which this dispute would never have reached such proportions: the Mauritanian domestic context determined by a particularly contentious national social issue.

The inseparability of these two aspects means that any approach must be global; that is, it must take into account the Mauritano-Mauritanian dimension of the conflict. The countries of the subregion and the international community are summoned by the genocide of an entire community for which the white system has paved the way. They will be responsible tomorrow for the position they take at this historic turning point in which the existence of Mauritania's blacks is more than ever threatened.

The FLAM recall that any viable solution must necessarily take into account the Mauritanian dimension of the conflict.

Consequently, the FLAM draws the attention of the international community and the various mediators to the unavoidable failure of any negotiations that do not take into account the need to repatriate the deportees, rehabilitate them, reestablish their rights, and guarantee their safety once they are established in Mauritania.

#### **\* Educational Cooperation With China Fostered**

*90AF0237B Dakar LE SOLEIL in French  
23 Apr 90 p 3*

[Article by Papa Boubacar Samb: "Turning the Page on the Events in Nanking; first paragraph is LE SOLEIL introduction]

[Text] The events in Nanking are now only a bad memory, and, most everywhere in China, relations between Chinese and African students have improved. Educational cooperation with Senegal is off to a new start.

Zhao Yongkui, assistant director of the International Cooperation Department of the Government Council on Education of the People's Republic of China, has just completed a trip to our country during which he met with the appropriate departments of the Chinese Embassy concerning various aspects of his country's educational cooperation policy.

He came to speak to us on this subject, which was made all the more important by the "regrettable incidents" that took place two years ago among Chinese and African students at He Hai University. If he is to be believed, these incidents are only a "bad memory," and it has been a year since the university "has regained its old atmosphere." The Chinese authorities conducted a "sensitization effort" among Chinese and African students alike, encouraging them to strive for "better mutual understanding for harmonious cohabitation."

The presence of foreign students in our country on scholarships from the Chinese Government is conceived as "a factor in bringing our peoples closer together and is entirely consistent with our policy of promoting South-South cooperation and contributing to the development of these countries," Zhao Yongkui said. He also indicated the number of foreign students in China and the measures taken by the authorities in his country to "facilitate their stay materially and mentally."

Since 1973, when China opened the doors of its universities to Africans, 2,700 students have been admitted and 1,300 have completed their course of study. Senegal has already sent 60 Senegalese and has six students there now. Fields of study have ranged from international relations to acupuncture and include textiles, food technology, computer science, and pharmacology, among others. All together, some 20 fields have been chosen by these students, who are located at 20 different institutes of higher learning. The six Senegalese students are enrolled in civil engineering (two), textiles (one), medicine (two), and computer science (one).

According to Zhao Yongkui, the Chinese scholarship for foreign students includes housing, educational fees, meals, and medical care. In addition, annual trips to the Chinese provinces are organized for them, and they receive money for winter clothing, especially in north-west China. While Chinese students sleep six to a room, their foreign "brothers" sleep two to a room and have their own restaurants. "This is not a discriminatory measure against foreign students, as certain Western newspapers have maintained," Mr. Yongkui said. It reflects China's "tradition of hospitality" and shows the "determination of the authorities" to provide them with "the best conditions possible" by taking "their dietary habits" into account.

China, which is in step with economic reforms, is also willing to host more foreign students should opportunities in this area broaden. Zhao Yongkui believed that every effort would be made in that direction. For the present, China can host eight Senegalese scholarship

students a year. This year there are seven candidates. Five former Senegalese students to China are also said to have expressed a desire to return for further training. For its part, China has had two university-level scholarships to Senegal available for 10 years. A Chinese student is currently studying at the IFE (College of Letters and Human Sciences of Sheik Anta Diop University).

However, student exchanges are only one aspect of educational cooperation. Contacts among universities could be strengthened at various levels. There is already a "formal tie" between UCAD [Sheik Anta Diop University] and Nanking University, and an effort should be made to increase the number of meetings like the one to be held in China on 7 May, which will be attended by 80 French-speaking government officials, including Mr. Amadou Fall. Mr. Fall is the director of the Senegalese Scholarship Office and received a courtesy visit from Zhao Yongkui during his stay.

#### **\* Japan Donates 3,000 Tons of Rice**

90AF0237C Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 23 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by Pape Sedikh Mbodje: "3,000 Tons of Rice From Japan"]

[Text] Friday the Japanese Government gave our country 3,000 tons of rice valued at approximately 394 million CFA [African Financial Community] francs. The rice, which will be sold on the market, will allow our country to make up a portion of its grain deficit before import, estimated at 248,794 tons based on the last rice harvest. It will also make it possible to finance development projects on which Senegal and Japan have jointly agreed. Through similarly agreed programs, Japan recently contributed 750 million CFA francs to the PAM-SEN [expansion unknown] project and 3,867 to clean up and repair the cities of Saint-Louis and Kaolack through highly labor-intensive urban projects.

The donation will also contribute to balancing our balance of payments. It was received at pier III by Quartermaster Colonel Oumar Kane, director of the Police Office of Food Security, in the presence of the Japanese ambassador to Senegal.

The latter recalled that the Government of Japan had always supported our country's economic and social policies in every area, particularly with respect to food security, an area in which Senegal was making an intense effort to reach or even exceed the goal of 80-percent self-sufficiency set for the year 2000. Speaking in turn, the Japanese ambassador to Senegal, Mr. Mitsuhei Murata, said that the government of his country was well aware of the primordial importance of food security and that it regularly supported the Government of Senegal in its efforts to improve and stabilize the country's food situation. However, above and beyond the food problem, he said, this aid had significant importance at the economic level, since the sale of the donated rice



would bring the Senegalese Government additional revenue that would help it to implement its structural adjustment policy successfully.

#### \* EEC Provides Compensation for Fishing Rights

90AF0237D Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 3 May 90 p 3

[Text] According to a press release received Wednesday by APS [Senegalese Press Agency] from the Senegalese Ministry of Animal Resources, Senegal will receive 10 billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs in direct financial compensation from the EEC under a two-year fishing agreement. The draft agreement was signed on 19 April in Brussels. Under the preceding draft agreement, financial compensation was 8 billion CFA francs.

The press release also stated that European fishermen active in ocean waters under Senegalese jurisdiction land at least 16 thousand tons of tuna canned in Senegalese canneries.

#### \* Muslim, Animist Power Struggle in Casamance

90AF0212A Paris POLITIQUE AFRICAINE

in French Mar 90 pp 83-85

[Article by Joseph Glaise: "Casamance: the Confrontation Continues"]

[Text] In 1982-1983 there were popular uprisings in Casamance. A mysterious movement, the MFDC (Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance) concealed itself behind these actions and published pamphlets, proof that young intellectuals were associated with the movement. The increasing involvement of the government in the economic development of the region, a development whose fruits, according to the Casamance people, benefited mainly the Senegalese of the north, was the main reason for the disturbances. Above all, the fact that people foreign to the region could, by invoking the new national legislation, gain title to land was badly received in a region where land is very important, both on the material and emotional levels.

In its pamphlets the MFDC claimed to be a regional and multiethnic movement, but certain indications suggest that it was primarily a Diola movement. In fact, the disturbances were confined to the Diola areas—Basse-Casamance—while the sacred forests played a central role in the movement. Among the Diola, the sacred forest groves, of men and women, were traditionally the religious and political realm reserved for the elders, only accessible to the initiated members [as published]. Apparently, the young intellectuals had thus succeeded in incorporating the old village institutions into a modern ethnopolitical movement. The secrecy surrounding the leadership of the MFDC thus reflects the indirect and mysterious way in which the Diola elders traditionally govern their villages from the sacred groves.

The uprisings of 1982-1983 were crushed by the army. Hundreds of people were killed, others were arrested. Among them, Abbe Senghor, who in his speeches and

writings had condemned the political and cultural expansionism of the northerners in Casamance. Since his participation in the revolt could not be confirmed, he was finally freed. However, a number of rebels did succeed in escaping and continuing the resistance, from the wooded border areas of Guinea-Bissau. A good part of the Senegalese army continues to be tied down in Basse-Casamance. President Abdou Diouf refuses to negotiate with the rebels and the struggle continues. Certainly the authorities have succeeded in making people believe, particularly abroad, that they control the situation in this area, which receives many tourists, and that the resistance has been broken. In reality, the Diola population's support to the rebels is growing, and the organization of the resistance is improving more and more, following the principles that formerly governed in the sacred groves. The support—financial or otherwise—to the "new" sacred forest is becoming more and more the sine qua non for being able to call oneself a Diola. However, the struggle is at an impasse. The rebels are surrounded by the army, but they can always take refuge in Guinea-Bissau. For several years, the movement did not show itself abroad.

This situation changed in 1989. During that year, two new pamphlets were published that we reproduce below. What is their purpose and what do they tell us about the movement and its struggle?

The first pamphlet is a reply to the government efforts to open negotiations, and it lists the prior conditions set by the rebels. The most important of these is the demand to be represented by political prisoners (or ex-prisoners), such as Abbe Senghor, and not by "Casamance people included in Senegalese delegations," regarded as traitors to the Casamance nation. This distinction between real Casamance people and traitor Casamance people was already evident in the previous pamphlets, which shows that the limits of the group are well defined and well guarded. But by whom? This question brings us to another: who wrote this pamphlet? The previous ones were signed "MFDC," which is not the case today. Our first pamphlet cites "Casamance" as the originator, the second "The Casamance Resistance," which heightens the mystery surrounding the leadership of the movement.

The second pamphlet is addressed to the "People of Senegal," and gives, point by point, news about the revolt. Most of the topics mentioned are known, but three point to new developments: the arms that the government has allegedly distributed to "Senegalese" living in Casamance, the rebels' effort to place their revolt in an international context, and the anti-Islamic sentiment formulated for the first time in such a clear way.

If it is true that the government has provided arms to the "Senegalese" living in Casamance to defend themselves against the natives, that would mean a serious increase in the risk of escalation. Also, questions arise about the reason for this decision. Does it mean that the government no longer controls the situation on the spot?

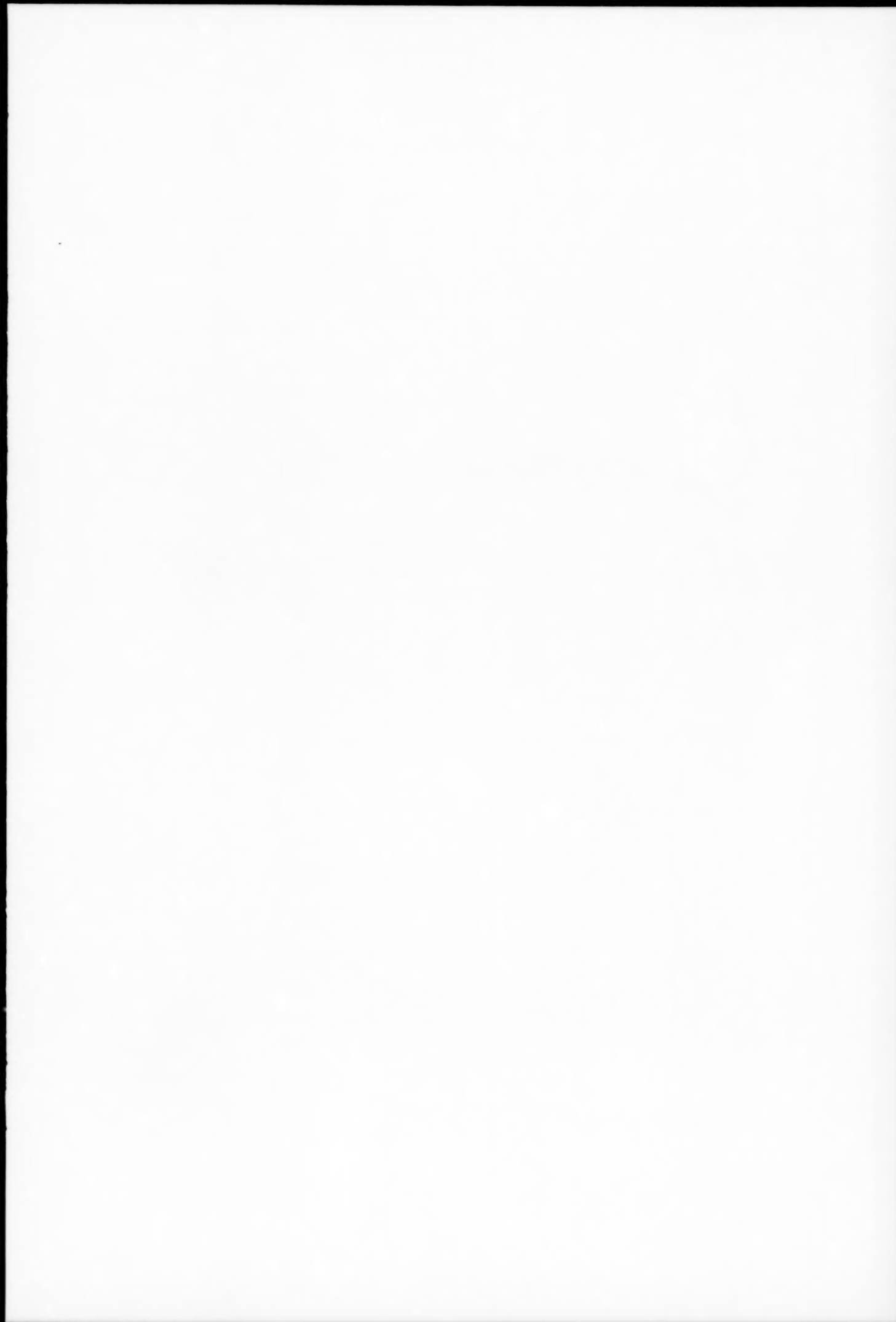
This pamphlet also suggests that a number of African and non-African countries have promised assistance to the Senegalese president in his struggle against the rebels. The movement says it has proof of this. Senegal is also accused of having wanted to establish a toxic waste depot in Casamance. The movement claims to be in contact with Amnesty International, and says that it will appeal in due course to the Hague International Court of Justice.

However, the most important point that emerges in this document is the openly hostile attitude toward Muslim leaders, an attitude that was in a latent stage in the previous pamphlets. This leads us to pose an important question: how is it that in a region where 80 percent of the population has been Islamicized (often recently), a movement that without any doubt represents the "people" can turn against the religious leaders? Two comments are appropriate. In my opinion, the Muslim leaders referred to in this pamphlet are leaders of the "Senegalese" and not of the Diola. However, it is also true that in the Islamicized Diola villages there is a power struggle between the new Muslim leaders and the traditional political-religious leaders (the lineage elders) grouped around the sacred groves. Superficially the Diola have been Islamicized, but during the male initiation ceremonies, the elders reveal themselves as still the real leaders

of the Diola communities. The sacred forest is the site of their power, and it is not surprising, since the Diola revolt is organized around the sacred groves and bears the marks of the struggle between Koran and Sacred Forest. The way in which this struggle evolves remains one of the most intriguing questions for the future.

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